

BCCI, Part II:
The big
picture

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IN THESE TIMES

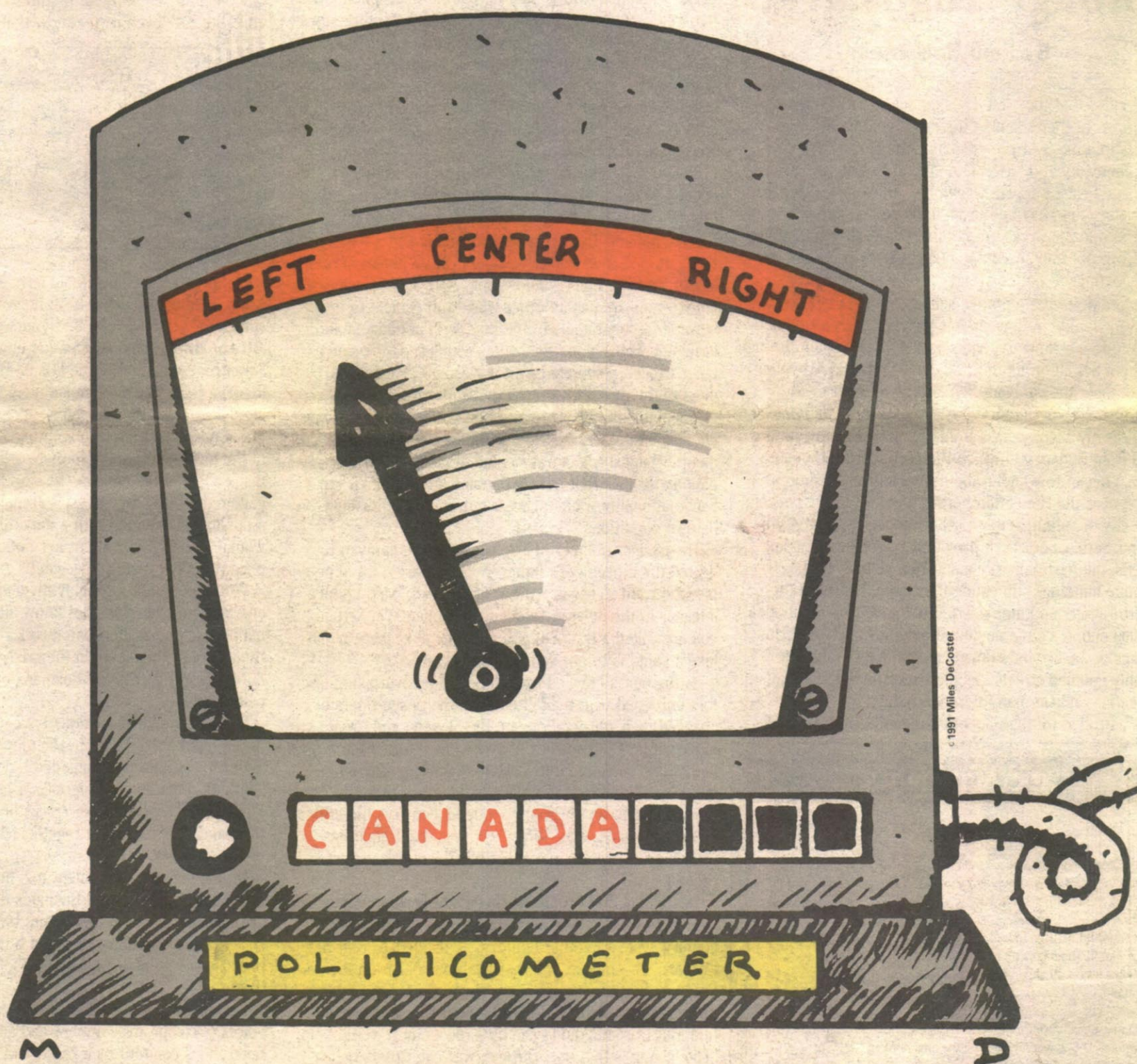
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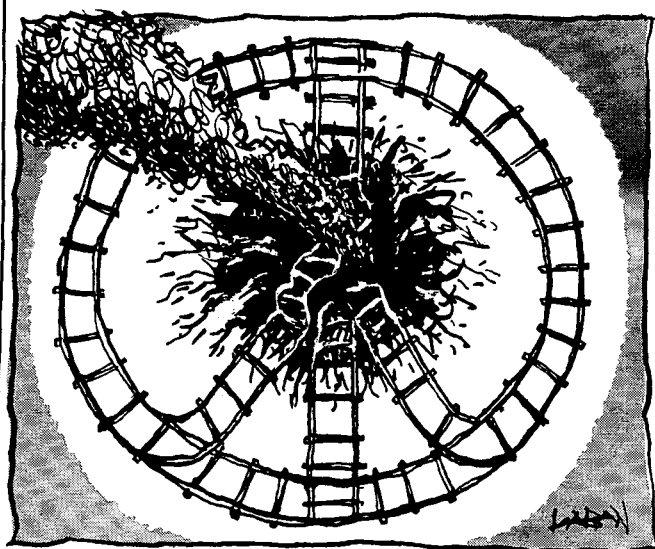
CANADA

SWINGS LEFT



New Democratic Party captures two provinces

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Riding the peace train through Yugoslavia

By Paul Hockenos

SARAJEVO, YUGOSLAVIA

"We know that they left Trieste, and that's all we know," organizers at the Helsinki Citizens Assembly office in Prague told me over the crackling phone line. "All communications to Slovenia and Croatia are out."

So, the Peace Caravan was underway at last. Plans for the caravan of West European and Yugoslav peace activists had been in the works for months. But Yugoslavia's raging civil war not only made the bus convoy's route circuitous and contingent, but communication next to impossible.

According to the tentative schedule, the five-day Peace Caravan would circumvent war-torn eastern Croatia and travel through Hungary, entering Yugoslavia again through northern Serbia on its third day, September 27. My plan was to meet the caravan then and travel with them to their final stop at an all-Yugoslav peace rally in Sarajevo.

But as my second-class train car rattled gently southward from Budapest through Hungary's fertile Danube Basin, I began to wonder about my chances of success.

Just over the Hungarian border, I got off in the peaceful little city of Subotica, the northern-most city of the Vojvodina, Serbia's northern province. Under the drooping lindens, the pastel maroons and rich yellows of the Baroque buildings still exude the tranquil spirit of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. True to *Mitteleuropa*, Subotica's 100,000 people comprise 20 nationalities, including Hungarians, Jews, Croats, Romanians and Czechs. On the roughly cobbled streets, people banter in Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian and German interchangeably.

As I strolled through Subotica's shady parks and cafe-

lined squares in search of the Peace Caravan, I knew that things had deteriorated quickly of late in the Vojvodina. In 1988, when Serbia's nationalistic President Slobodan Milosevic dismantled the autonomy of the republic's southern Kosovo province, the Vojvodina's provincial autonomy was scrapped too. The position of the minorities in the Vojvodina is certainly nowhere near as dire as that of the Kosovar Albanians. But the explosion of Serb nationalism has alienated Vojvodina's other nationalities, particularly the 500,000-strong Hungarian minority.

Rumors of peace: It was already dusk in Subotica when a blood-curdling scream pierced the air. There was another shriek, two loud amplified guitars kicked in and a heavy bass-line pounded out the first notes from Subotica's best punk band. The caravan still hadn't arrived, but Subotica's welcoming party had started the festivities without them.

Band after band demonstrated Yugoslavia's rock-and-roll prowess before one woman finally rose to address the issue of peace in Yugoslavia. Barely had the woman finished three lines of a poem comparing peace to the ocean when four young men ripped the microphone from her hand. "Fuck you!" shouts one, shoving the three-finger salute of the Serb nationalists into her face. "We're going to the front tomorrow. Don't give us any of the peace crap, you Croat bitch!" The mostly teenage crowd watched in silence as the woman was forced to step down from the stage. The bands played on without another word about peace.

Finally, well after midnight, 300 travel-weary peace activists piled out of six buses and two vans. The next morning, after half a night's sleep, the contingent of French, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians and a handful of East Europeans were ready to go again. With banners streaming from open windows and Bob Dylan blaring, the convoy appeared as an other-worldly spectacle to the bewildered inhabitants of the tiny Serbian hamlets and farming villages along the route. Younger people and older women responded with waves and peace signs, most of the men with frowns of disapproval at best.

Independent polls show the vast majority of Yugoslavs are against the war. Yet today, the nascent peace movement in Yugoslavia is fragmented along the same nationalist lines that has its peoples mired in civil war. Each nationality wants peace—but uncompromisingly on its own conditions.

The meager number of Yugoslavs on the caravan reflected the movement's lethargy. "There are a lot of people who want to speak out but are scared," said Ljubica, a leader in the Belgrade student movement. "In Serbia, you are called a traitor if you are critical of the war. To take a stand is to put your life in danger."

As the buses crawled toward Belgrade, overtaking tractors burdened with the fall harvest, the peace-riders exchanged their observations on the Slovene and Croat movements. The Slovenes, they say, now out of the army's line of fire, seem uninterested in an all-Yugoslav movement. The Croats, on the other hand, insist that international recognition of Croatian independence is the critical precondition for peace. The West must back them in what they see as an imperialistic Serbian war against Croatia.

The logic is that Croatia's official status as an independent state would "turn the conflict into a war of one country against another country," explained 19-year-old Dorijana, an Amnesty International member from the Croatian coastal city of Riejske. Theoretically, the international community would then be committed to take action. But Dorijana didn't see how recognition would help. "The feeling is that only through war can Croatia get what it wants," she said.

Serb or Croatian? In Belgrade, the convoy met with a warm welcome from several hundred Serbs. The democratic opposition arranged meetings and panel discussions that carried on until late, giving the Westerners a taste, this time, of peace Serbian style.

The Serb opposition vents its wrath against the ruling Serbian Socialist Party in scathing terms. At the same time, on the thorny national questions that lie at the source of the country's violent breakup, they more or less toe the party line. The Serb minority in Croatia, they repeat, cannot under any circumstances be expected to live

in an independent Croatian state. They argue that under Croat rule, the fate of the minority would be the same as during World War II, when hundreds of thousands of Serbs were massacred by Croatian fascists.

"What the West doesn't understand is that it's the Croats who are the aggressors in the war," said Dusan Potkonjan, a member of the liberal opposition from Doctors Against the War. Echoing government propaganda, he claimed that Croats initiated attacks against both the Serbs and the federal army. "The army is doing all that it can simply to defend itself," he insisted.

On the road again the next day, the peace buses forged still further south into the rugged heart of the Balkans. Military police patrolled gasoline queues that stretched sometimes for half a mile. In the black costume of mourning, a funeral procession marched solemnly to the cemetery to bury a local boy killed in the war. From beneath their dark hats and veils, the rough, peasant faces spoke not of reconciliation but of revenge.

As the war has intensified, the government-controlled medias in both Serbia and Croatia have stooped to ever more ruthless tactics to fuel hatred and fear. Television stations now regularly air pictures of grotesquely mutilated bodies. "Even if you know that the TV is probably

INSIDE STORY

lying, these images inevitably have an effect on you," said Ivana, a Russian teacher from Belgrade. "After you hear something 10 times, you find yourself believing it."

All for one: When the convoy finally arrived at Sarajevo, the capital of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic, the peace-riders knew immediately that the city had earned its reputation as the stronghold of the Yugoslav peace movement. From ubiquitous open-air cafes and out of the high windows of Moorish, oriental buildings, Bosnians cheered the caravan. At stop lights, small crowds gathered around the buses. A French woman leaned out of a bus to shake hands with a dark, black-haired Bosnian woman. When asked about her nationality, the Bosnian replied proudly, "I am a Yugoslav!"

With a population roughly divided among Serbs, Croats and Moslems, the Bosnians know all too well that a nationalist war in their patchwork republic would bring tremendous bloodshed. In the grisly interethnic clashes during World War II, the Bosnians of every nationality paid dearly.

Lately, nationalist tensions have escalated dramatically in the republic. Still, the peace movement rallies itself under the banner of a confederal, democratic Yugoslavia. "With all of its different peoples, Bosnia is like a little Yugoslavia," said one speaker at the rally of several thousand. "If we can live together, then so can all of the peoples of Yugoslavia."

On the caravan's last night together, I joined a few peace-riders and several Bosnians discussing the Yugoslav crisis over a bottle of local plum brandy. Between themselves, the group hammered out a number of logical compromise scenarios for a peaceful solution to the country's dilemmas.

But even within the various Yugoslav peace movements, voices of compromise are few and far between. Until the oppositions confront their own nationalist prejudices, their movements serve only to bolster the logic of war. □

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By Peter Prongos

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA

IN A TELEvised DEBATE DURING BRITISH COLUMBIA's recent legislative election New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Mike Harcourt held up a B.C. Medical Plan card in one hand and an American Express card in the other.

"The choice in this election," Harcourt said, "is between a party which will protect our health-care system and those who would Americanize it."

The NDP's landslide victory in the Oct. 17 election, along with its stunning electoral success a week later in Saskatchewan, showed that more and more Canadians are choosing the social democratic plan offered by Harcourt's party.

The NDP renaissance began quietly in 1989, when it swept to power in the remote Yukon territory. The party's first major breakthrough came a year later when a New Democratic government, led by provincial leader Bob Rae, was elected in Ontario, Canada's industrial heartland and largest province.

Now with its two victories in western Canada, the NDP rules provinces containing 52 percent of the country's population—leaving the party poised to challenge the Conservative national government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, whose social and economic policies are widely blamed for Canada's year-old recession.

NDP time in B.C.: In British Columbia the NDP won 51 of 75 seats in the provincial legislature. Although B.C.'s Liberal Party—the province's other "free enterprise" party—made a surprisingly strong showing—the NDP polled 43 percent of the vote. Of course, the NDP success was made easier by the incompetence and corruption of its conservative opponent, the Social Credit Party, which virtually self-destructed during its last term.

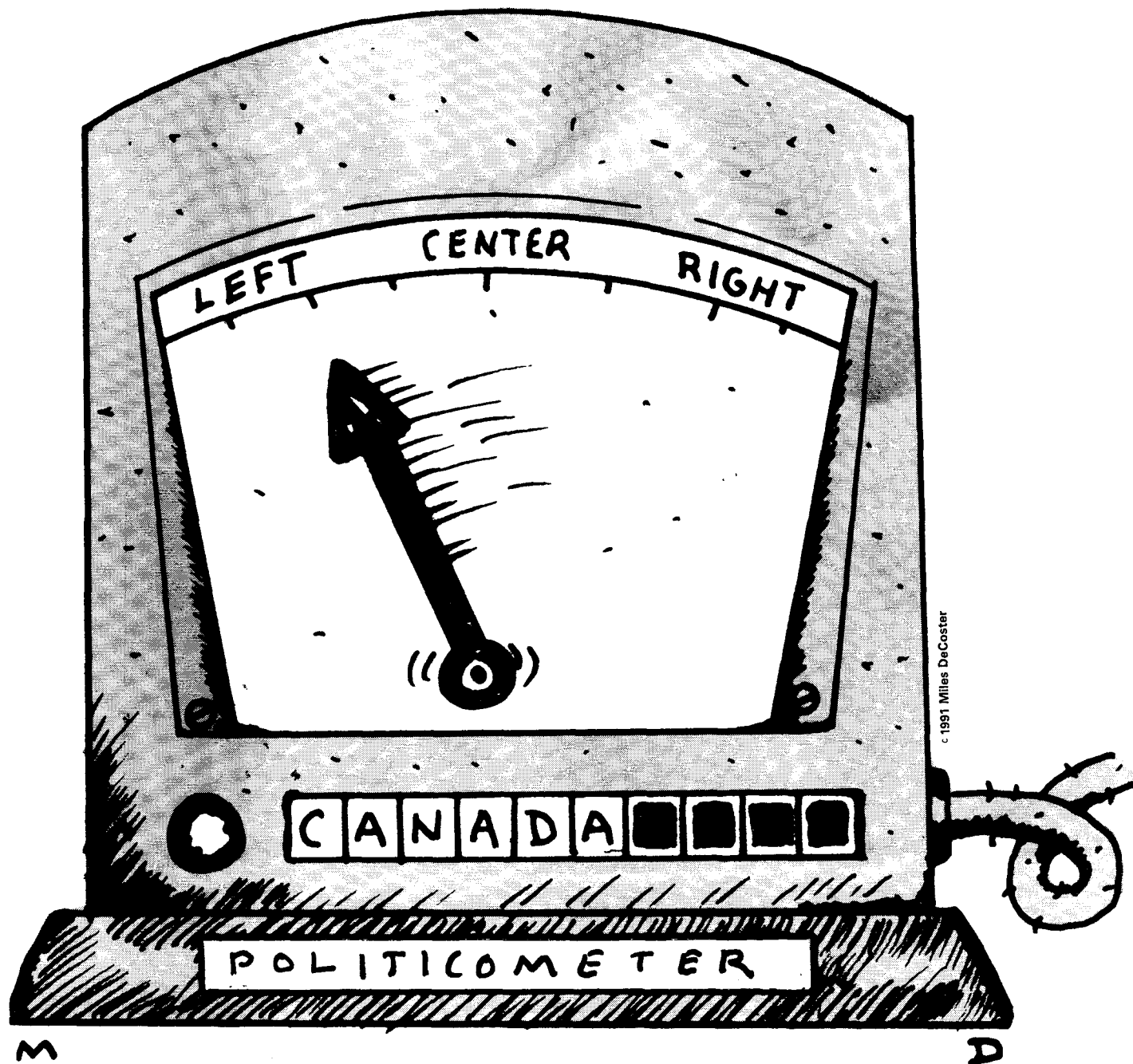
The Social Credit Party (Socred), a coalition of right-wing parties united by their fear of a "socialist" government, had run B.C. almost continuously since 1952. But in the last five years, a dozen Socred cabinet ministers were forced to resign over scandals involving shady land deals, conflicts of interests and obstruction of justice.

Consequently, NDP provincial leader Mike Harcourt, a 48-year-old former storefront lawyer and three-term mayor of Vancouver, ran a fairly low-key campaign stressing government integrity. At his victory party, Harcourt restated his intention to provide "a clean government and environment, good quality health and education services, [and] a balanced budget."

Other election planks included pay equity programs for women, a minimum-wage hike, free choice on abortion, aid to small business, fair settlement of native land claims and more funding for the arts.

The NDP also plans to repeal recent anti-union legislation. "We are delighted," said Jack Monroe, president of the Woodworkers' Union. "Labor has been suffering the brunt of this unscrupulous attack by the Socreds."

So incredible: From the beginning, the Socred campaign was a farce. On the day elections were called, former Socred Premier Bill Vander Zalm was in court facing criminal charges. Vander Zalm, a fundamentalist Catholic who once compared his trials to those of Christ, had to resign in April when criminal investigators charged the premier with using his office for personal gain.



New Democrats capture two provinces

While in office, Vander Zalm, who lives in a castle on his own Christian theme park called Fantasy Gardens, angered many British Columbians by attempting to push his morality on the public. He alienated many voters when he illegally tried to suspend provincial medical coverage for abortions.

During the campaign, one Socred candidate resigned when his ties to neo-Nazis were revealed. One week later, a Socred incumbent was charged with theft and breach of trust. He refused to quit the race and the party had to boot him out.

Beyond B.C.: Four days after the NDP triumph in B.C. the party won an even bigger mandate in Saskatchewan, capturing 55 of the 66 seats in the provincial legislature. The NDP, which got 52 percent of the vote in a three-way race, held on to its urban support and won over a majority of farm voters—who have been hit hard by the recession.

The NDP's provincial leader, Roy Romanow, the son of an immigrant Ukrainian railroad worker, pledged to implement farm-rescue programs. He has also kept his campaign promise to cut the provincial sales tax.

Like Harcourt, Romanow is a pragmatist who has vowed not to spend money that he doesn't have. "I'm not an ideologue," Romanow said. "We do not see nationalization as a goal or as

a realistic option.... The cash just isn't around."

All three NDP provincial governments will be taking a "go slow" approach, especially on economic matters, and are wary of angering business leaders. Nevertheless, the citizens of British Columbia and Saskatchewan can look forward to the sort of progressive policies adopted by Ontario's NDP government.

Instead of imposing an austerity budget, Ontario's NDP premier, Bob Rae, responded to the recession by increasing expenditures on training for displaced workers and maintaining current spending levels for social and health programs. Rae is financing the plan by raising taxes on the wealthy and imposing new sin taxes on cigarettes and gas-guzzling cars.

If the NDP roll continues, New Democrat Jack

Layton could become mayor of Toronto in November. As the financial center of the country, Toronto's municipal politics are more significant than any other Canadian city's.

Taking on the Tories: The resurgence of the NDP could hardly have come at a more critical moment. Seven years of Conservative rule have left Canada reeling. Social services have been cut, the economy is mired in recession and hundreds of thousands of jobs are being lost to the U.S. and Mexico because of the free trade agreement negotiated in 1988.

The Conference Board of Canada, a mainstream think-tank, recently released a scathing report that places primary responsibility for Canada's economic troubles on the Conservative government. A majority of Canadians seem to agree.

Recent opinion polls show Conservative support has plummeted to 14 percent. Around two-thirds of Canadians now want the free trade agreement renegotiated or repealed outright. Ontario's Rae has vowed to renegotiate the free trade deal, and all three NDP provincial leaders are planning to confront the Mulroney government on its funding cutbacks to the provinces, most of which hurt medical, educational and social programs.

These and other issues are part of the de-

Continued on page 11

By Joel Bleifuss

Earth-shaking

In a new book just out, Pulitzer-winning reporter Seymour Hersh examines the 30-year-plus history of how Israel built and deployed the atomic bomb.

The book's title, *The Samson Option*, is Hersh's metaphor for the Israeli policy of aiming its nuclear arsenal at the Soviet Union—thus ensuring that Moscow would not side with Arab nations in the event of war. Israel threatened that if Israel was attacked, the result would be widespread nuclear destruction—like the Bible's chained Samson pulling down Dagon's Temple on both himself and the Philistines.

One of Hersh's main sources was Ari Ben-Menashe, a former Israeli intelligence official, who Hersh says "served more than 10 years in the External Relations Department of the Israeli Defense Force, one of the most sensitive offices in Israel's intelligence community."

Last spring, Ben-Menashe told me he was one of six Israelis who participated at a series of meetings in Paris during the weekend of Oct. 19 and 20, 1980. According to Ben-Menashe—and a number of other sources—the meetings were held to iron out the details of a deal between Reagan-Bush campaign officials and Iranian representatives to have the release of 52 American hostages in Tehran delayed until after the 1980 election. (See *In These Times*, April 17.)

Hersh, who is now on special assignment for the *New York Times*, does not directly address Ben-Menashe's allegations about the October Surprise. He does, however, touch on other covert arms deals of the Reagan-Bush White House. He reports, for instance, that Ben-Menashe has "accused Robert M. Gates, a senior CIA official under Reagan, of direct involvement, despite Israeli protests, in the sale of arms, including chemical weapons, to Iraq from 1986 to 1989."

Nuclear like me: Two of the chapters in which Hersh uses Ben-Menashe as a source involve Israel's nuclear cooperation with South Africa. "They weren't very good at all as a nuclear state. We had to help all the way," Ben-Menashe told Hersh. This relationship between the two countries dates from 1974 when Defense Minister Moshe Dayan made a secret trip to Pretoria. It was solidified in April 1976 when South African Prime Minister John Vooster paid a state visit to Israel, during which it was agreed that the two countries would hold joint nuclear tests. At the end of the visit Hersh reports Israel and South Africa had reached six or seven "secret military and nuclear" understandings.

Hersh reports that a former Israeli official gave the following four reasons for the cooperation: "One: to share basic resources. South Africa is a very rich country and Israel is poor. Two: the supply of raw materials. Three: testing grounds. Try to do a [nuclear] test in Israel and all hell breaks loose. In South Africa it's different. Four: there is a certain sympathy for the situation of South Africa among Israelis. They are also European settlers standing against a hostile world... South Africa, when it realized it wanted to go nuclear, also realized there was one country it could turn to."

According to Hersh, this unnamed Israeli official "had firsthand knowledge of Israel's nuclear policy," but like all of his Israeli sources—except Ben-Menashe—refused to go on the record when discussing nuclear policy.

Israel and South Africa jointly tested three "low yield nuclear artillery shell[s] that had been standardized for use by the Israeli Defense Force." The test took place on the morning of September 22, 1979, over the South Indian Ocean. According to Hersh, due to a sudden break in the clouds, the flashes from one of those nuclear tests was picked up by the U.S. nuclear detection satellite known as VELA.

Duck and cover: The discovery caused consternation in the Carter administration. After all, the U.S. president had been a vocal proponent of nuclear non-proliferation. Hodding Carter II, Carter's assistant secretary of state for public affairs, told Hersh: "When that thing up there went 'twinkle, twinkle, little star.' I can remember running around on the seventh floor [where Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's office was located]. There was sheer panic. It was very much, 'Oh, shit. Oh, dear. What do we do with this?'"

Hersh goes on to describe the cover-up that followed. It is a familiar story—the same old theme, just a different scandal.

At first, the Carter administration tried to keep news of the test secret. The White House then set up a secret investigation by an outside panel to examine evidence—not evidence that a nuclear bomb had, in fact, exploded, but that it had not.

Hersh reports that eight government-picked "distinguished" scientists, under the direction of Massachusetts Institute of Technol-



Jo Aerne: stick-up artist

By Bill Stamets

"You're a technician, you don't hear the screams." Chicago artist Jo Aerne took this quote from a Vietnam vet she once heard on a radio talk show, and she copied it on black 4" x 5" stickers.

She intends this terse message, spelled out in plain white Helvetica lettering, to turn up where least expected. "You're going down the street to buy your diet yogurt and you see this fact," says the 34 year-old graphic designer.

Another one of her stickers reads: "55,000 died in the Vietnam War, 60,000 Vietnam vets have since committed suicide." Aerne, a former designer of book covers, authors concise editorials like: "Dependent on oil, dependent on war," "Propaganda precedes aggression," "Rearming the Middle East is the fastest way to pay for the war" and "Create the enemy, when necessary."

Aerne was inspired by the Gulf War to create a counter-media art for the streets. At demonstrations she passed out various editions of her unsigned stickers for sympathizers to post. At one demonstration last winter, she wore a mock television set to a demonstration against the media's war coverage. With antennae springing from her head, the blank face of her screen urged, "Stay tuned, there's more pro-war to come."

Aiming at high things: By the end of the summer, though, she took another tack and brought her art into a gallery. Gallery 1616, a new space in Chicago's trendy yet marginal Wicker Park neighborhood, gave her room to set up installations. "I

am competing with all the visual noise out there," she says as an incredibly loud car horn outside the gallery drowned out her words. Titled "Messages," her political art actually thrives in a gallery context, much maligned by commentators as a sterile white box. Despite misgivings about neutralizing her impact in the gallery setting, Aerne's graphically articulate black and white designs stake a quiet claim on viewer's attention that is hard to obtain during a march.

In the middle of the gallery, Aerne's stickers are elevated to the status of art objects, sitting in neat stacks on an array of white pedestals which struck her father as looking like military tombstones. But this art cannot be bought. Her adhesive-backed messages were meant for visitors to take and affix outside the gallery setting. Aerne, identifying with Marcel Duchamp's conceptualist stunt of putting non-art objects into art contexts, offers her art as communication, not as commodity. "You cannot invest in it—you can have it," she says. "You can't buy or sell thoughts."

One of her installations fleshes out a recipe cited on the sticker: "How to sell the military: swelling music—soaring craft—beautiful sunsets—precision bombing". In one corner of the gallery Aerne plugged in a television with VCR that played the Arts & Entertainment channel's 4th of July special "Desert Storm—the Mini-Series." A Lazy-Boy recliner was stationed in front of the television set, provisioned with Coke and cheese twists. A camouflaged Desert Storm cap (made in Korea) was parked atop a coat rack. Aerne further accessorized the scene with



Desert Storm bubble gum cards like "Wearing the Gas Mask" and "We Aim at High Things (motto of 62nd Air Defense Artillery)."

"Wall of Intervention," another of Aerne's installations, was an 11-by-14-foot grid of black plaques painted on a white wall. Each one memorialized—and indicted—an episode of U.S. intervention. Alongside an international roster of adventurist destinations, Aerne itemized domestic incidents usually omitted from standard textbooks: "1893, Hawaii, Independent kingdom overthrown" ... "1901, Oklahoma, Army battles Creek Indian revolt" ... "1943, Detroit, Army puts down Black rebellion" ... "1967, Detroit, Army battles Blacks, 43 killed."

With its black & white checkerboard pattern, her history lesson called to mind the "domino theory," another foreign policy that was mapped out with a game metaphor. Aerne also looked ahead, imagining interventions yet to come in North Korea, Iran, Peru, Cuba, Nicaragua and Guatemala. A tape player placed nearby sounded out a note of imperialist destiny: a recording of a 10-year-old girl's sing-song recital of the verse: "In fourteen-hundred and ninety two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue..." The endless loop echoed off the "Wall of Intervention."

From granite city to sister cities: Raised in the downstate Illinois steel town of Granite City, Aerne's first brush with foreign policy occurred over the dinner table. She recalls talk about the Vietnam War turning uncomfortable in her high school years. Later, trips to Europe and Central America taught her how little she grasped about her own country's role in the world.

After graduating in 1981 from Northern Illinois University in Dekalb with a B.A. in studio art, she worked at the university press as a graphic designer. From there her next job was at Yale University Press. Her involvement with the New Haven-Leon, Nicaragua sister-city project led to her designing a

cover for a bilingual poetry book, *No Hay Fronteras*. And in 1989, she traveled to Leon where she taught arts and crafts to war orphans.

Turning full time to art, Aerne later came to Chicago for graduate work in visual communication at the School of the Art Institute. Increasingly concerned with political art, designing books became a sideline job. For a billboard art project sponsored by Chicago's Randolph Street Gallery, she drew upon art made by one of her Nicaraguan students. A Nicaraguan girl's picture of an exploding heart became a political ad that read "Kids learn to love. Kids learn to hate."

Today one of her stickers quotes an anonymous fellow American, who has his head in the sand: "I know very little about it over there, and the less I know the better off I'll be." On another sticker she reproduces the Pentagon's description of the invasion of Panama, "Predawn vertical insertion," hardly the way to term diplomatic intercourse between consenting countries.

The personal is apolitical: This fall Aerne, after winning a Fulbright grant, headed off to study socially-engaged graphic design in Holland, a country where the postage stamps include messages about homelessness.

Aerne read her Fulbright contract with eyes attuned to the wording deployed in the New World Order. She and other Fulbright grantees are informed that while "private citizens retain the right to agree or disagree with the government," they are reminded of their "personal moral obligation to protect the non-political character of the program."

Aerne laughs and says she will entertain no interventionist ambitions during her apprenticeship in an Amsterdam poster studio. After all, she notes, Sen. Fulbright was something of an anti-interventionist himself.

Reached in Amsterdam, Aerne reports she has started a photo essay on the omnipresent Marlboro Man. "There are huge cowboys all over Holland. They're everywhere. I was really annoyed," she says. Another U.S. product, though, intrigues her. Hearing Voice of America for the first time, she is writing down lyrics from propaganda she picks up.

All the raised bridges over Amsterdam's many waterways are inspiring Aerne: she imagines placing messages on their undersides for delayed pedestrians. So far, her favorite specimen of political graffiti turned up on castle ruins. It read: "Boycott McDollars."

One of her ongoing projects in Holland is continuing her work on a series of postage stamps she first exhibited in Chicago. Inspired by Dutch stamp designers, she interpreted her personal observations of Guatemala by juxtaposing "official or projected images in color" with "realistic situations in black & white."

Stamps may seem an unlikely medium for expanding moral discourse. But Aerne's art works among the numbing muddle of signage that clutters our everyday environment. In the tradition of artists like Barbara Kruger and Jenny Holzer, whose works mix text and politics in the public domain, Aerne sends us political messages, some oblique others blunt. She wants to reclaim for personal expression public space now choked with commercials. Although her effort, like the work of other graphic artists, is usually anonymous to the eyes of its viewers.

Aerne's style is paradoxically interpersonal. Getting feedback is rare. But sometimes her art addressed to the masses hits home. After seeing her Chicago exhibit, Aerne's sister, a General Motors executive, wrote in the gallery journal: "From a previously dedicated Republican and capitalist, now paying a little more attention." □

Bill Stamets is a writer living in Chicago.

ogy professor Jack Ruina, were instructed to see if the VELA satellite had picked up a flash that was, as the government put it, "of natural origin, possibly resulting from the coincidence of two or more natural phenomena."

Ruina, who is a regular Pentagon consultant, explained to Hersh, "My mandate was only to look at technical data"—not intelligence information that indicated South Africa and Israel were planning a nuclear test.

Word of the explosion eventually leaked out. And Vance responded by telling the press that there was no conclusive evidence of a nuclear test. Tweaking his current employer, Hersh writes that following Vance's denial, the *New York Times* "dutifully" reported the company line. The *Times* wrote, "Faced with a denial by South Africa of such activity, and lacking any proof beyond the uncorroborated evidence of a single satellite, the U.S. government sought to avoid a major confrontation over what it said was only the possibility that some nation had secretly exploded a nuclear device in an area of some 4,500 square miles."

Nine months later, the government's "outside" panel's unclassified report concluded that the flash the satellite photographed "was probably not from a nuclear explosion." The scientists wrote, "Although we cannot rule out the possibility that this signal was of nuclear origin, the panel considers it more likely that the signal was one of the zoo events [a signal of unknown cause], possibly a consequence of the impact of a small meteoroid on the satellite."

Hersh explains, "The American bureaucracy had been in training for more than 30 years in looking the other way when it came to the Israeli nuclear program, and every part of the system instinctively sought to find a way to avoid calling the Israeli-South African test a test."

Lies build upon themselves and take on a life of their own. Once a government starts lying or denying reality, it finds it is hard to stop. And after years of denial, a case can be made for continuing the charade. An unnamed non-proliferation official told Hersh: "My belief is that the conclusion of the Ruina panel was the right conclusion for that time. What do you do? Look at the issues involved—apartheid, Camp David, [a nuclear non-proliferation treaty], dealing with the Indians [on nuclear proliferation], stopping [nuclear] reprocessing worldwide. You would have to do something strong, especially to Israel, but there was a large segment of the population that Carter couldn't alienate."

Limits on democracy

Opinion polls indicate that the public believes its elected leadership has failed. At least in every aspect except foreign policy. In that department, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll, the chief executive enjoys a 69 percent approval rating. Concentrating on foreign policy makes President Bush look presidential—and leaves the domestic quagmire for Congress to wallow in. According to the same poll, 57 percent of the people disapprove of the way Congress is doing its' job.

Last week, I discussed "proportional representation"—a proposed reform in the way Americans vote that would give fairer representation to alternative points of view. I also mentioned how the Republican administration, under the guise of fair play, is drawing congressional boundaries that concentrate African-American and Latino voters into electoral ghettos.

Rob Richie, who is working in Cincinnati trying to get a proportional representation law passed, brings up another anti-democratic tendency.

Across the nation, there is a movement to put term limits on elected officials. According to the *New York Times*/CBS poll, 68 percent of all Americans favor such controls. In Illinois, such a move is being led by right-wing Republican Dan Crane, a one-time congressman, who wants to limit politicians to 10 years in office.

There are two things wrong with term limits. First, by doing away with incumbency, term limits give an advantage to the candidate who has the most money—and as the GOP well knows, that's likely to be a Republican. Second, by putting controls on the amount of time a person can spend in elected public service, term limits prevent the development of long-term, wise leadership.

Says Richie, "One big point of mine these days is that we really have to strengthen legislatures. NOTA [the campaign to give voters a 'none of the above' option] and term limitations are basically legislature bashing, in some ways anti-establishment but in others pro-king, pro-executive power. This plays into the hands of conservatives because it is a lot easier for conservatives to elect an executive than a majority on the legislature. And the main reason for this is that the legislature can mirror a population and the executive can only mirror the majority."

Gates again

As *In These Times* goes to press, it appears the U.S. Senate will confirm Robert Gates, President Bush's nominee to head the CIA. Before the senators cast their votes, however, we hope they review the following—extremely underpublicized—material from Gates' confirmation hearings. This material is drawn from written testimony Gates provided to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence about his role in the Iran-contra affair. Over the summer, after renewed questions about Gates' character delayed his hearings, the Senate intelligence committee posed a series of questions to the nominee. Some were based on entries in the extensive diaries Lt. Col. Oliver North kept while working for the National Security Council (NSC). The entries seemed to indicate that Gates had been informed of the affair much earlier than he'd admitted. But to every question about North's notebooks, Gates responded with some version of the following answer: "I have not reviewed Lt. Col. North's notebooks and I do not know the meaning of the entry."

Dear diary: At one point, the committee asked Gates about a March 12, 1986 entry that reads, "call from Clarridge [deleted] Green—to DDI—at Langley • Two Brits w/ FDN • no names • CIA been info d." Written in North's cryptic style, the passage probably refers to the U.S. effort to divert profits from Iranian arms sales to the Nicaraguan Contras—i.e. "FDN." "Clarridge" is Duane Clarridge, the CIA official who directed the European division of the agency's operations directorate. And while it's unclear who "Green" or the "Two Brits" might have been, it's likely that "DDI" refers to Gates, who was then the CIA's deputy director of intelligence (DDI) based at Langley. If Gates was "info d" about the diversion on March 12, that would mean he knew about the operation months earlier than he had admitted. Undoubtedly sensing deception, the committee asked Gates, if "as the DDI at that time [he could] shed any light on the meaning of this notebook entry." Gates provided the following answer. "I have not reviewed [Lt. Col.] North's notebooks and therefore I am reluctant to speculate on the meaning of the entry cited in your question. From the text of the excerpt it is not clear whether the term DDI refers to me as the deputy director of intelligence or to the Directorate of Intelligence which is commonly referred to as the DDI rather than the DI by people inside and outside the agency." Gates explained no further. Despite this non-answer, intelligence committee Chairman David Boren (D-OK), upon recommending Gates, said, "I believe he has matured, has grown and is ready to face the challenges ahead and address the concerns of the people he will lead." Perhaps more complete answers to these questions are contained in the classified material Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) says he is waiting to receive from the CIA. Despite expressing reservations, Nunn voted to recommend Gates' confirmation to the full Senate. In explaining his support for Gates, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA), whose relationship with S&L mogul Charles Keating is still under Senate investigation, aptly noted that "Dr. Gates' record is not perfect, but, I ask, whose is?" Hardly a ringing endorsement.

Not to say we told you so, but...

We don't want to gloat over former Klan leader David Duke's strong showing in Louisiana's October 19 gubernatorial primary, but we told you so. Duke's second-place finish, which puts him in a November 16 runoff against former Gov. Edwin Edwards, came as no surprise to *In These Times* readers. It is exactly what Sheldon Snunness predicted in our September 25 issue. "At the moment, most forecasters predict a Roemer-Edwards rematch with the incumbent prevailing. Don't bet on it. Primaries are about shoring up one's base. And both Edwards and Duke have stronger backing than Roemer, whose base—the wealthy, business and single-issue constituents—is built on quicksand. Add Roemer's expected difficulties with the legislature, more erratic behavior and you're looking at an Edwards-Duke finale, similar to last year's Johnston-Duke Senate race." At the moment, most pundits are predicting an Edwards victory.

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Glenora Croucher, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

The GOP's image makers and breakers

Will the real Willie Horton of 1991 please stand up?

It could be Clarence Thomas, the Supreme Court nominee who, with the whole nation watching prime-time television, showed America what black men must endure in this country to get ahead.

It could be Anita Hill, the University of Oklahoma law school professor who accused Thomas of sexual harassment and was vilified by Senate Republicans—again, on national television.

Take your pick. Both, like Horton, are black. Both, like Horton, were manipulated by Republican strategists to cast doubt on the Democrats' ability to run the country.

It does not matter who Americans believe. Forever, Thomas will be a tarnished member of the nation's highest court. And Hill will have to spend a lifetime trying to beat two bad raps—that she's an opportunist and a storyteller. What matters is that the Democratic Party botched another national debate, and George Bush—the wimp that was—won another big one.

The confirmation of Clarence Thomas was round one in the presidential campaign of 1992. And the dazed Democrats had better get up off the mat.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the Thomas hearings is that the Republicans may have turned the corner on race as an issue in presidential campaigns.

In 1988, without subtlety, the Bush campaign used the Horton ads to drive a wedge between the Democratic campaign and a key segment of the electorate—the white middle class. Put simply, GOP strategists created doubts about Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis by creating fear about Horton, a convicted killer who raped a woman while on furlough from a Massachusetts prison when Dukakis was governor.

This time around, the Republicans let the black man do the talking. When the nominee sat at the green-felt-covered table and gritted his teeth, he attacked "the living hell" he was going through and labeled the hearings "a high-tech lynching." These were not code words. This was a Supreme Court nominee telling America that the U.S. Senate was guilty of one of the worst forms of racial stereotyping—about a black man's sexual prowess.

The Senate Judiciary Committee's ranking Democrats charged with defending Hill—and thus women's rights—were helpless. How could white men from the North tell a black man who grew up in Pin Point, Ga., that he was not a victim of racism?

The Republicans had caught Biden

INSHORT



and Company in the old bind. Thomas had given the Democrats an impossible dilemma: choose between two of their traditional constituencies, women and blacks.

It was a political campaign, not a criminal procedure. Without rules of evidence, controlling public opinion was the key to victory, not control of the facts. And in this discipline, the Republicans are masters. When Anita Hill turned out to be a devastating witness—confident under questioning and riveting in detail—GOP strategists decided they could not risk losing a Thomas vs. Hill battle. Instead, word came down from the White House to turn the fight into Thomas vs. the confirmation process.

The wounded nominee went into his act on prime-time television, grabbing far more viewers than Hill, whose televised testimony came at a time when audiences are much smaller. So when America went to bed on Friday night, October 11, the White House had the feeling that the momentum had begun to swing away from Hill to Thomas. Hill's supporters could feel it, too. But there were still two victims.

The only way to break the deadlock was for Thomas to come back to the committee room on Saturday morning so the White House could control the images and message coming across the television screen for one more crucial day. GOP strategists knew that news organizations would be in the field, polling America—and the best way to control the outcome of those polls is to saturate the airwaves.

While the viciousness unfolded in Washington, the television audience was routinely shifted to the Camp David golf course, where the president, looking like an L.L. Bean catalogue model, expressed confidence in his nominee.

It was an identical remake of the 1988 cinema verité: Horton ads slash Dukakis while Bush plays Mr. Nice Guy in front of flag factories in New Jersey.

The Republicans were rewarded for their tactics. By Monday, October 14, the verdict was in. The American public believed Thomas. First, *USA Today* on Monday: Anita Hill is lying.

Then the *New York Times* on Tuesday: 45 percent of the American public thinks Thomas should be confirmed. More important, 58 percent in the *Times* poll said they believed him; only 24 percent believed Hill. The most telling statistic of all: only 26 percent of the women polled believed Hill was telling the truth.

So on the eve of the presidential campaign, the Democrats walked away from the Thomas nomination angering just about every corner of the electorate. Conservatives. Feminists. Blacks. And the middle class fed up with congressional excesses.

Aside from conclusively showing that American people believed Thomas and not Hill, the polls also revealed a deep resentment—the American people believed that the Senate Judiciary Committee's behavior was abusive and embarrassing. In short, the Democrats running the show blew it.

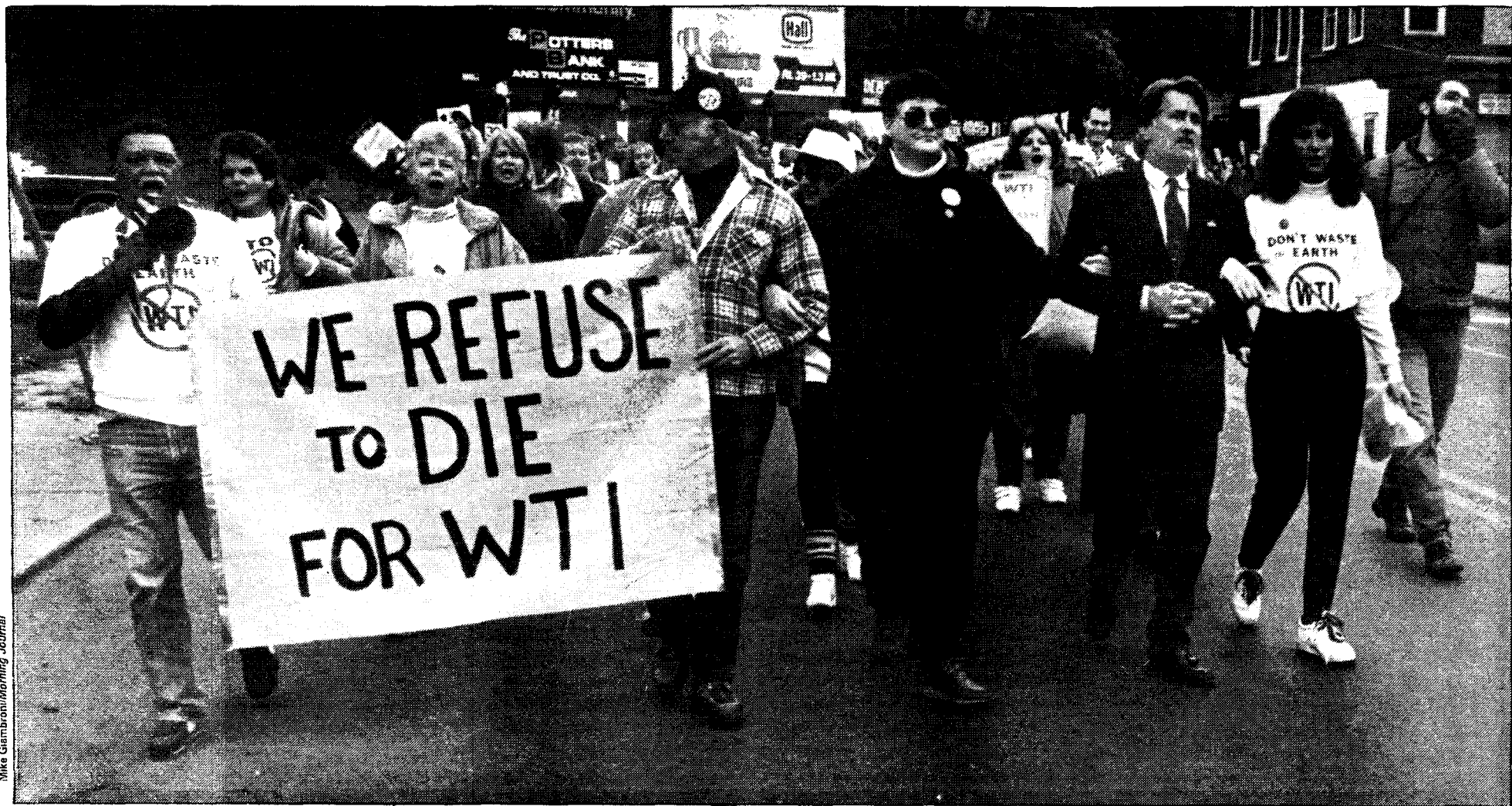
Two of the Democratic Party's top presidential contenders are coming directly from Capitol Hill—Senators Tom Harkin of Iowa and Bob Kerrey of Nebraska.

The hearings tarnishing the Senate's image comes in the aftermath of two scandals that have dominated talk radio across the nation: members of Congress bouncing checks at their own bank, and members getting free meals and parking privileges in Washington while their constituents are suffering through the worst recession in a decade. It's all part of the image mix that allows this president—just like the last Republican in the White House—to hang onto his popularity despite the bleak economic picture.

Americans may be seething over Bush's veto of the unemployment benefits extension bill. But the Senate's failure to override—remember, the Democrats have a majority in the upper house—reminds everybody just how powerless the Democratic leadership is.

Ironically, the Senate failed to override Bush's veto of the unemployment benefits extension the day after Thomas won confirmation. Chalk up another one for Big Daddy Bush.

—S.A. Paolantonio



Mike Giambroni/Morning Journal

Martin Sheen (third from right) joins East Liverpool residents in protesting the incinerator.

By David Moberg

LET'S SAY YOU'RE RESPONSIBLE FOR BUILDING the nation's largest hazardous waste incinerator. Your assistant rushes into the office bursting with excitement.

"Boss," he says. "I've found the perfect site. It's on a flood plain right on the banks of the Ohio River, upstream from the source of drinking water for several million people. It's right over two aquifers. We don't have to worry about the first. It's already heavily polluted from an earlier chemical spill. We can probably get away building without thoroughly cleaning up the site. The ground is soft enough that we'll have to sink 1,700 pilings into the bedrock protecting the other aquifer, which provides drinking water for several towns in the area."

"The site is zoned industrial but there are houses all around—one of them just 320 feet away. There's also an elementary school with 500 kids about 1,100 feet away, situated on a bluff so that the top of the incinerator's exhaust stack will be about 50 feet above the level of the school."

"The weather's a little odd: often there's very little wind and there are inversions three-fifths of the year, so any emissions would be trapped. But when the winds blow they can carry pollutants to nearby cities like Pittsburgh."

Your choice: do you fire him or give him a padded cell?

"But, boss, I forgot to mention something. The site is in a small blue-collar town in a rural setting, and most of the county's tiny black population lives near the site. Its two major industries—first potteries, then steel—have shut down. The town is nearly bankrupt, and local officials are desperate. Unlike most communities, they'll embrace it with loving arms."

Aren't you lucky to employ such a genius, after all?

Ohio community could get burned by hazardous waste incinerator

Stranger than fiction: This is no fantasy: the facts describe the site for a hazardous waste incinerator under construction in East Liverpool, Ohio. The first of its two kilns, which eventually could burn 176,000 tons of toxic liquid wastes a year, is now 80 percent completed and scheduled to begin preliminary operations in January. Setting aside the serious safety questions about any hazardous waste incinerator, even the best-managed of such complex technologies must be located so that the almost-certain mishaps do not become disasters.

East Liverpool isn't the place. "This is the worst site I have ever seen, in terms of protecting the health of the population," says Paul Connett, a St. Thomas University chemist and prominent incineration foe. Richard Sahli, chairman of Ohio's Hazardous Waste Facilities Board from 1987 until earlier this year, calls the site "irresponsible...lunacy.... We would have laughed it out of the board if it had come before us."

The incinerator once looked like a golden opportunity to the depressed community's former mayor John Payne. A representative from a group of investor companies—including Von Roll of America, Inc., a subsidiary of a Swiss incinerator designer—approached Payne shortly after his election in 1979. The investors' new firm, Waste Technologies Industries (WTI), promised jobs and taxes by generating cheap energy from industrial wastes. At the time, the state was readily siting toxic waste dumps and incinerators, because it was eager to retain business, prevent uncontrolled "midnight" dumping and simply find some place for industry's waste.

But when a few community residents began

questioning the plan, they discovered contradictions, cover-ups and a host of unaddressed health and safety problems. By 1984, however, WTI received its federal and state permits, despite opposition from citizens as well as the hearing examiner for the Ohio Hazardous Waste Facilities Approval Board. Two

TOXICS

months after the final permit was issued, the Ohio Legislature enacted tighter regulations that WTI could not have met. In 1987 the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the permit.

A bankrupt plan: Yet WTI was nearly bankrupt. Chemical Waste Management, Inc., a subsidiary of Waste Management, Inc., the world's largest waste company, agreed to buy WTI, then backed out. Its purchase might have triggered legal problems—Ohio had fined Chemical Waste Management \$10 million for environmental violations at its hazardous waste deep well in Vickery—or it could have forced reopening of the permit process. A company spokesman says that Chemical Waste decided that too much new incinerator capacity was opening up, al-

Two months after the final permit was issued, the Ohio legislature enacted tighter regulations that incinerator builders could not have met.

though there is only one operating hazardous waste incinerator east of Ohio. One stock analyst thought that Chemical Waste was reluctant to tie up capital in a project that could be delayed.

Opponents thought the incinerator had flamed out, but late last year WTI—wholly owned by Von Roll since 1989—rose from the ashes. Construction of the \$140 million facility started just before its air pollution permits expired. Critics contend Chemical Waste helped make financing possible. After dropping its plan to purchase WTI in 1989, Chemical Waste signed contracts to supply wastes to the incinerator and to dispose of the incinerator's toxic ash in New York and Indiana landfills. The incinerator builder, Rust International Corp., is also a Waste Management subsidiary, leaving WTI heavily dependent on the waste giant.

Incinerator opponents argue that hearings on the permit should be reopened because so much has changed in the 11 years since WTI proposed the incinerator. The site was bad to start with, they say, but it clearly does not comply with current law. Also, the technology is out of date, they contend, and there is more scientific evidence that hazardous waste incineration is dangerous to public health and the environment. A consultant to the city of East Liverpool recently concluded that the health and environmental impact studies are sufficiently out of date and inadequate to warrant delay in operating the incinerator.

Also, the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) found that WTI has violated four major provisions of its construction permit. The agency, however, appears willing to modify the permit rather than enforce it or halt construction. In addition, WTI has altered its technology—in ways that critics say will worsen emissions—and the Ohio EPA has recently requested 16 technological changes. Under Ohio and federal law, major

Continued on page 11

In its October 23 issue, *In These Times* began a two-part series on the broader economic and social issues of the BCCI affair. Author George Winslow argued that the real scandal was not a lone wayward bank, but a world financial system out of control. Winslow examined how, during the past two decades, multinational corporations rose to global economic dominance. He then documented the way in which operations like BCCI use "offshore havens" to do these corporations' banking.

Such havens—located in places like Panama, Hong Kong and the Bahamas—free corporations from the taxes, oversight and laws of their home countries. They also help Third-World leaders loot their own nations, thus increasing those countries' debts and putting further strain on the shaky U.S. economy. No matter what happens in the ongoing BCCI investigation, Winslow concluded, the offshore financial system that spawned the bank still operates outside of the control of any real government authority. "BCCI will happen again," he wrote.

In the following story, Winslow examines how larger economic issues shed new light on BCCI's more notorious operations—the bank's ties to the CIA, drug dealers, sleazy S&Ls and influence peddlers.

By George Winslow

EVEN IN MIAMI, WHERE EXCESS HAS BECOME a fine art, David Paul, the chairman of CenTrust Savings Bank, stood out from the pack. Paul, who raised lots of money for top Democratic Party politicians, used bank funds to buy a \$13 million Rubens that he hung in his opulent estate and insisted that his \$7 million yacht be built with 14 carat gold nails.

But by the late '80s, Paul was in trouble. CenTrust, like many other S&Ls, had suffered huge losses by speculating in securities and junk bonds. For years he had hidden the losses with accounting tricks that were legalized by Congress and the Reagan administration. But, as the public began howling about fraud in the S&L industry, bank regulators ordered Paul to make the losses public, a move that threatened to ruin his bank.

To buy time, Paul used his political clout to arrange meetings with top regulators in the Reagan administration. At the meetings, Paul introduced Ghaith Pharaon, a wealthy Saudi financier who had already bought 25 percent of CenTrust. Paul implied that Pharaon and his wealthy Saudi friends planned to save the bank.

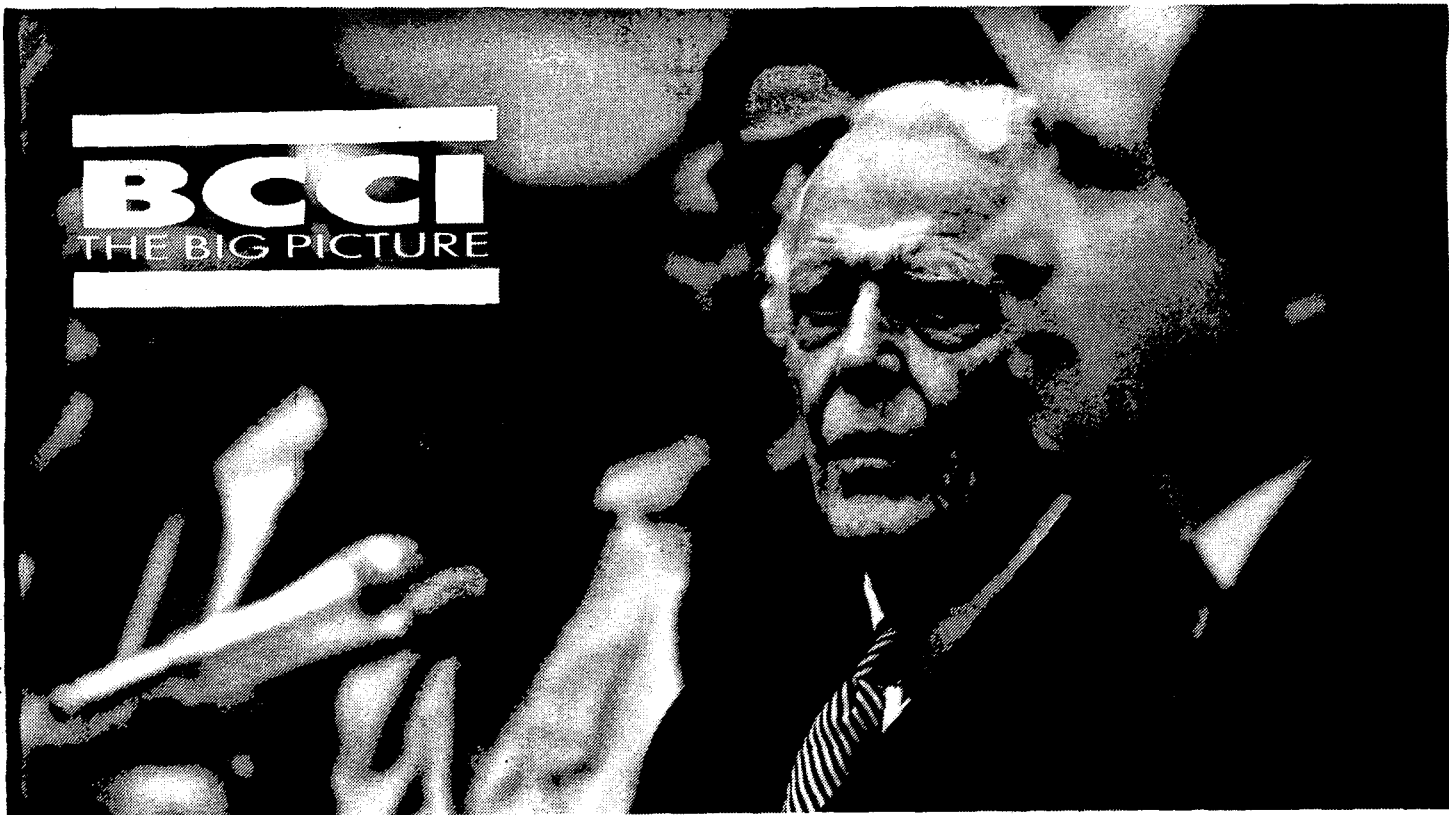
Impressed with this display of wealth, regulators let CenTrust stay in business. CenTrust lost more money and Paul kept throwing lavish parties—at one \$122,000 affair he flew six famous chefs first class from the United States to France. When bank regulators finally shut down CenTrust in 1990, taxpayers got stuck with a bill for \$2 billion.

The CenTrust fiasco took place in Florida and Washington—half-way around the world from Abu Dhabi, where a number of Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) executives are now under house arrest. But the CenTrust affair illustrates how the sun never sets on the new world of bank fraud. Ghaith Pharaon—the wealthy Saudi financier who was supposed to save CenTrust—was simply one of the front men that BCCI used to secretly buy and loot at least four American banks.

The price we pay: The *New York Times* recently assured its readers that many of BCCI's crimes would have little effect on Americans. "[The] money laundering and

BCCI THE BIG PICTURE

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BCCI used front men, such as Clark Clifford (left) and Robert Altman to purchase U.S. banks.

New capitalism: bank fraud, drug trade, espionage

other corruption at BCCI occurred largely overseas.... The criminals and most, if not all, of the victims of BCCI's scams were foreigners," the *Times* wrote.

But that is not at all the case—and in this article, *In These Times* will examine how and why. Many of BCCI's alleged crimes, such as its involvement in the S&L scandal, were conceived in the United States—and most of the bank's foreign criminal activity would not have been possible without the complicity of American business and government.

Today, it would be hard to find an American who hasn't been victimized by BCCI. Taxpayers have spent billions of dollars, and may have to spend billions more, to bail out banks looted by BCCI and its clients. Financial services provided by BCCI and other banks helped international drug traffickers bring tens of billions of dollars worth of illegal narcotics into the United States. Arms transactions financed or administered by BCCI accelerated a Mideastern arms race that helped trigger the U.S.-Iraqi war. And BCCI was not the only major financial institution to profit from bank fraud, arms deals and drug smuggling. These problems—and the financial system that nourishes them—will continue.

Secret invasion: Only five years after being founded in the Third World, BCCI began its invasion of America. In 1977, several of BCCI's largest shareholders launched a hostile bid for the largest bank in Washington, D.C., Financial General Bankshares (now called First American Bankshares). There were problems from the start. A number of the investors were simply BCCI front men, many of them with long histories of involvement in corporate bribery scandals. A Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) investigation into the deal uncovered a wide range of illegal securities transactions.

Normally these violations would have disqualified potential investors from handling billions of dollars in federally insured deposits. But BCCI's high-powered legal team, headed by Clark Clifford—a former secretary of defense and adviser to four presidents—convinced the Federal Reserve Board to approve the deal on the condition that BCCI would not control the bank. It was a condition BCCI ignored from the start.

Over the next decade, BCCI also used Ghaith

Pharaon as a frontman to secretly acquire a minority stake in CenTrust, as well as controlling interests in the National Bank of Georgia and the Independence Bank of Encino, Calif. As with its secret purchase of First American Bankshares, BCCI shifted money through a bewildering array of offshore havens to convince regulators that the banks were being bought by wealthy Arabs with lots of cash. In fact, the real owner was BCCI.

Then, BCCI used the same system of offshore finance to loot the banks. For example, soon after BCCI lost over \$849 million speculating in U.S. Treasury bonds, BCCI executives had First American Bankshares (FAB) pay \$220 million for Ghaith Pharaon's shares in National Georgia Bank. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, FAB paid between \$20 million to \$60 million more than any other bank was willing to pay. The deal had the effect of transferring \$220 million from a very solvent bank, FAB, to Pharaon and BCCI at a time when the latter two were in deep financial trouble.

Today, the effects of BCCI's involvement are plain. FAB, once a solvent, well-capitalized commercial bank, is in dire financial straits. Recently regulators gave FAB, which lost \$182 million in 1990, a rating of "four." Five means the bank is broke and should be shut down; one is an excellent rating. The \$11 billion bank, which now has \$469 million worth of bad loans, could easily cost U.S. taxpayers billions of dollars if it collapses.

New rules: More importantly, the FAB fiasco illustrates how the new world of international finance has affected the American banking industry. The increasingly unregulated international financial system of the '70s and '80s pressured Washington to deregulate the American financial system as well.

This deregulation dramatically changed the structure of American finance (see *In These Times*, Oct. 2). For the first time since the Depression, banks were allowed to expand their operations into the insurance and securities markets. Savings-and-loan associations were permitted to make speculative investments in the commercial real-estate market—a practice that ruined many S&Ls. Large corporations, which had once raised most of their short-term debt from commercial banks, now turned to foreign banks and

Wall Street firms. Securities firms such as Merrill Lynch offered certificates of deposit—encroaching on a traditional market of banks—and channelled tens of billions of dollars into shady S&Ls. Finance companies—especially subsidiaries of large auto makers—stepped onto another traditional turf of the banking industry, the auto-loan market. Sears and other retailers, which were once content to sell power tools and lawn chairs, began peddling credit cards and stocks.

These changes not only increased competition among financial institutions, but also reduced profits and led to increasingly speculative investments. Deregulation led to a decade of financial fraud and mismanagement. Like BCCI, some S&L owners used secret bank accounts in offshore havens to hide their ownership or to embezzle millions of dollars.

Federal authorities made it easier for investors to buy banks, allowing many shady financiers to move into the industry. Many of these financiers, such as Charles Keating and David Paul, set up elaborate business and political ties with BCCI's clients, advisers and shareholders. These ties show that BCCI was not simply a foreign problem—and that the S&L scandal goes far beyond U.S. borders. In the '80s, high-flying institutions like BCCI and CenTrust became magnets for con artists of all kinds.

BCCI and the S&L scandal: For example, Charles Keating and his thrift, Lincoln Savings and Loan, invested millions of dollars in Trendinvest, an offshore company that speculated in foreign currencies. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Lincoln suffered "large losses" from trades made at Trendinvest and "lawyers representing investors ... defrauded by Mr. Keating...accuse him of shifting money overseas through such mechanisms as foreign exchange losses."

A BCCI executive, Alfred Hartmann, served on Trendinvest's board of directors and advised Keating on the foreign-exchange transactions. In 1989, Lincoln Savings and Loan filed for bankruptcy—a move that cost taxpayers over \$2.5 billion.

Another notorious S&L con artist is Herman Beebe. Beebe had a history of bank fraud as well as alleged business ties to the Mafia—which would normally have prevented him from buying a bank. But in the

'80s world of deregulated banking, Beebe was able to secretly buy and loot at least 100 S&Ls.

Beebe's exploits are documented in the book, *Inside Job: The Looting of America's Savings and Loans*, by Stephen Pizzo, Mary Fricker and Paul Muolo. According to the authors, one of Beebe's closest business associates, Ben Barnes, set up partnership with John Connally, the former governor of Texas. The partnership borrowed money from at least 17 S&Ls. But the partnership failed to pay back many of the loans, due to the real-estate crash. Connally, a one-time U.S. treasury secretary, was forced into bankruptcy.

In the late '70s, Connally owned a Texas bank with BCCI front man Pharaon, according to Stephen Fay's book, *Beyond Greed: The Hunt Family's Bold Attempt to Corner the Silver Market*. Connally introduced the bin Mafouze family, BCCI's second-largest shareholder, to the Hunt brothers, the infamous oil barons who lost their \$10 billion fortune trying to illegally manipulate the world's silver market. The bin Mafouze family and Pharaon invested in the Hunt scam and suffered huge losses.

Through Pharaon and CenTrust, the BCCI connection also leads back to the biggest con artists of the S&L scandal—Michael Milken and his firm, Drexel Burnham Lambert. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) has charged that Milken, Drexel, CenTrust's Paul and BCCI rigged a sale of \$150 million worth of junk bonds to make it appear as if CenTrust had raised more capital than it actually had.

More importantly, a \$6.8 billion suit filed by the FDIC alleges that Milken, Drexel, Keating and Paul set up a network of junk-bond buyers at CenTrust and other S&Ls who "willfully, deliberately and systematically plundered certain S&Ls." This network used "illegal and manipulative secretive trading activities" to trade bonds back and forth to each other, creating "an illusion of an efficient, growing and liquid market for junk bonds."

In other words, the FDIC believes that the network created a bogus market for junk bonds that artificially inflated the prices for these bonds. When the market finally collapsed, many S&Ls such as CenTrust, went broke, leaving taxpayers at least \$6 billion.

Hooked on drug money: Financial crime, however, wasn't the only toxic byproduct of global financial deregulation. The authors of *Inside Job* have noted that organized crime groups produced tens of billions of dollars worth of revenue each year. These criminal organizations needed financial institutions to launder their profits: "Thrift deregulation fulfilled...those needs nicely.... Not only had the rules been drastically eased, but the cops [thrift examiners] were no longer much of a threat, their ranks having been gutted after state and federal deregulation."

Financial pressures also forced many banks to turn a blind eye toward money laundering. Faced with declining profits, bad Third-World debts and increased competition, banks needed new deposits and customers.

Handling drug money had been illegal in the United States since the Bank Secrecy Act of 1970. But, in practice, the rewards often exceeded the penalties. Between 1970 and 1985, only two thrifts were fined for money laundering. And a federal crackdown on money laundering in the mid-'80s produced only \$21 million worth of fines against 44 banks—a small portion of the \$50 billion to \$100 billion worth of drug money laundered through American banks each year.

BCCI was one of the banks that capitalized on this booming industry. Like many other financially troubled institutions, drug-cartel deposits helped BCCI hide its losses and keep growing. Naturally, BCCI executives worked very hard to keep their customers happy.

Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega, for example, received millions of dollars in kickbacks from the Medellin drug cartel. When Noriega set up a \$25 million account with BCCI, bank executives issued him credit cards for his wife and mistress. They booked him into posh New York City hotels and they took him on shopping sprees at the city's largest department stores where Noriega ran up as much as \$100,000 worth of credit-card bills. Noriega is believed to have laundered at least \$90 million through BCCI.

In other cases, BCCI actually helped drug dealers set up sophisticated laundering systems. For example, when a U.S. undercover agent, Robert Musella, began depositing money from the Medellin cartel at BCCI, the bank sent Musella to Europe for a kind of seminar in laundering. Then, BCCI set up a Byzantine system of offshore corporations and banks that Musella used to launder \$16 million in drug money.

Here, BCCI's skill at manipulating the deregulated U.S. banking industry played a key role. At least some of the drug money that Musella was laundering for the Medellin cartel made its way through First American and other banks secretly controlled by BCCI, according to House Banking Committee investigators.

BCCI taught Musella so much about the secret world of money laundering that government investigators were able to indict 85 people and launch investigations into the activities of 41 major banks, including Bank of America. BCCI eventually paid a \$15 million fine, only a small part of the profits it made from laundering over \$1 billion worth of drug money for the Medellin cartel in the '80s.

But while the mainstream media has focused on BCCI as a full-service bank for drug dealers, media reports have paid very little attention to money laundering by other major banks. For example, Bank of America was hit with a \$4.75 million fine for money laundering in 1986. It was the largest money-laundering fine until the BCCI case. Yet two years later, the financially troubled Bank of America was still laundering money.

In 1989, U.S. investigators cracked an operation that used jewelry stores, BCCI and many other banks to launder over \$1.2 billion in cocaine profits for the Medellin cartel. Major banks that accepted cash deposits from the drug-money-laundering organization included Bank of America (\$32 million), Republic National Bank (\$185 million), American Express Bank (\$11 million), Citibank (\$63 million), and Extebank (\$138 million). (BCCI, which received a \$1.3 million wire transfer from the Bank of New York, was a relatively minor player in this scheme.)

Drugs, guns and ideology: BCCI's money-laundering activities also have a political context that has been largely ignored by the mainstream media. Over the last decade, the Reagan and Bush administrations have attempted to portray the war against drugs as a Cold War crusade. By attacking "narco-terrorists," Reagan attempted to link Latin American revolutionaries and Latin American drug traffickers—thus justifying, for example, U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua. Likewise, Bush recently sent military advisers to Peru to fight left-wing guerrillas involved in the drug trade.

But, in fact, billionaires who run the drug cartels are hardly left-wing rebels. They are

a lot like most wealthy Third-World elites who use terror and illegal arms deals to maintain their power.

In 1989, for example, Colombian officials raided the farm of Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, one of the founders and a top leader of the Medellin drug cartel. Here they found hundreds of assault rifles that had been imported from the Israel Military Industries, the state-owned arms manufacturers.

They also found a bizarre home video. It showed members of the cartel at a paramilitary training camp attacking a mock village and firing their guns into homes. The men were screaming "Communist guerrillas, we want to drink your blood"—hardly a slogan that Marxist revolutionaries would use.

The weapons, Colombian officials soon discovered, had been used to assassinate a number of union leaders attempting to organize workers at large farms owned by the cartel. The paramilitary camp—backed by the Colombian military and financed by the cartel—trained Colombian death squads. The camp had been set up by Israeli arms dealers and former military officers.

One officer, Lt. Col. Amatzia Shuali had trained military officers in Guatemala and Nicaraguan Contra rebels in Honduras. At the camp, members of the cartel learned how to make bombs that had been used to blow up a Colombian airliner with 117 passengers.

This horrifying affair has been virtually ignored by the American media and it has not been covered in any of the articles on BCCI. Yet *In These Times* has learned that U.S. government investigators are probing allegations that BCCI had ties to several of the people who set up the camps. BCCI had a

The New York Times assured its readers that "[t]he criminals and most, if not all, of the victims of BCCI's scams were foreigners." But in reality, it would be hard to find an American who has not been victimized by BCCI.

large number of branches in Colombia that were used by the cartels, and druglord Gacha was a BCCI customer.

More importantly, the case illustrates how Cold War politics have corrupted the war on drugs. In Colombia, this policy had disastrous effects. After the discovery of one cocaine lab, U.S. officials claimed the drug trade was being run by the guerrillas. The charge was later proven false. In fact, the Colombian military was aligned with the drug dealers. One of the front companies used to set up the death-squad camps was actually owned by the Colombian minister of defense. As a result, millions of dollars in U.S. aid, earmarked for the war on drugs, was actually going to fight the guerrillas.

Offshore A-bomb industry: Guns for the drug cartels represented only a small part of BCCI's arms supermarket. BCCI was involved in the sale of guns to the Contras and the CIA-backed Afghan rebels. Gun dealers hired by the National Security Council's Oliver North used the bank to illegally sell tow missiles to Iran during the Iran-contra affair. And the banks provided financial ser-

vices for Silkworm missiles sold to Saudi Arabia, Scud-B missiles bought by Syria, weapons purchased by the Abu Nidal terrorist group, Mirage Jets acquired by India and helicopters sold to Guatemala.

Some of the most terrifying deals apparently involved atomic bombs. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA), has alleged that BCCI was involved in programs by Argentina, Libya, Pakistan and Iraq to build atomic bombs. In addition, former Senate investigator Jack Blum says that Munther Bilbeisi, an arms dealer "whose brother was a [BCCI] branch bank manager" and a "major" BCCI customer, was involved "in an effort to sell enriched uranium from South Africa to the Middle East."

In each case, arms dealers obtained export licenses under the pretext of shipping arms to a given country. But the arms would never arrive at their official destination. Instead, using a system of dummy corporations and secret bank accounts at unregulated offshore havens, the dealers were able to illegally ship the materials to their real destination.

So far, the *Washington Post* has been the only major paper to explain that the "global banking system...makes it relatively easy to finance cross-borders smuggling of sensitive nuclear technology." This is partly because "international banks...are under no obligation to check whether the materials being transported are legal."

BCCI and the CIA: More importantly, very few media reports have put BCCI's arms sales in a larger context of American foreign policy and covert operations.

The congressional Iran-Contra committee noted that then-CIA director William Casey "wanted to establish an offshore entity capable of conducting operations in furtherance of U.S. foreign policy that was 'stand-alone'—financially independent of appropriated funds, and, in turn, congressional oversight."

Like the transnational corporations that created the offshore financial world to avoid government control, the CIA was able to use BCCI and the offshore financial system to set up its own unregulated, private, foreign-policy apparatus. In this way, it could ignore Congress, which had outlawed aid to the White House-backed Nicaraguan Contra rebels, and public opinion, which was opposed to U.S. military intervention in the region.

Countries that agreed to cooperate with this "secret government"—including Panama, Israel, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states—received billions in U.S. aid and arms during the '80s. Arms dealers and banks like BCCI profited from the deals by charging huge fees and by receiving official protection for some of their illegal operations, such as drug smuggling.

BCCI's history, structure and expertise made it a perfect vehicle for the secret government's covert operations. Set up as an offshore bank, BCCI operated out of unregulated financial havens where covert operations could be easily hidden. Like many other corrupt Third-World elites, BCCI's shareholders also had a long history of ties to Western arms dealers and intelligence agencies.

Panama's Manuel Noriega was an important figure in the secret scheme to illegally fund the Contras. Jose Blandon, a former Noriega aide, claims that the CIA advised Noriega to use BCCI as his bank. Various published sources say that the CIA was depositing as much as \$200,000 a year in Noriega's account at BCCI. Noriega, in turn, helped Oliver North set up dummy corporations and secret bank accounts that were

Continued on following page

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used to finance the Contras.

Israel also played a key role. Israel shipped Noriega more than \$500 million worth of arms during the '80s, supplied the Contras with guns and helped sell weapons to Iran in the Iran-Contra affair. BCCI is known to have worked with Israeli officials on several arms deals during this period. The bank also provided financing for a number of arms shipments to Iran in the Iran-Contra affair. Another country that acted as a CIA proxy in Iran-Contra was Saudi Arabia, which gave the Contras at least \$22 million.

The Saudis also provided CIA-supported rebels fighting the Soviet-backed Afghan government with about half of their funds. BCCI's longstanding ties to Pakistan's military and to the Saudi royal family made the bank a logical choice to funnel CIA aid in Afghanistan. Recently, Pakistan's finance minister, Sartaj Aziz, told the *Financial Times* that BCCI was used by the CIA to direct arms and money to the Afghanistan rebels. The official also said that U.S. intelligence agencies had set up a slush fund for Pakistani military leaders who helped the Afghan resistance.

During the same interview, the finance minister claimed drug traffickers in the region had used BCCI to launder profits from sales of heroin. Furthermore, it's clear that the Afghan rebels sold drugs to buy arms. ("We must grow and sell opium to fight our holy war," a rebel commander once told the *New York Times*.) And the CIA may have been involved. *In These Times* has learned that government investigators are probing allegations that one CIA official supervised the BCCI-financed shipment of drugs and

arms through Pakistan.

Banking on war: But getting rid of BCCI won't hinder those government officials who, like William Casey and Oliver North, are determined to undermine American democracy. It's important to remember that the CIA has used banks like BCCI for decades.

During the '60s, '70s and '80s, for example, the CIA laundered money for coups and covert operations through the Castle Bank in the Bahamas, the World Finance Corporation in Florida and the Nugan Hand Bank of Australia. Like BCCI, these banks had ties to organized crime figures, drug dealers and spies. Like BCCI, they all had links to American banking and S&L scandals. And like BCCI, fraud and speculative investments by top executives forced all three banks out of business.

More recently, the CIA had ties with 22 failed thrifts that loaned money to people involved in "gun running, drug smuggling, money laundering and covert aid to the Nicaraguan Contras," according to the *Houston Post*.

Over time, the booming CIA-backed arms trade has produced big profits for arms dealers and banks like BCCI. But these black-market sales have also touched off a terrifying arms race in the Third World.

Consider, for example, the role that BCCI and many other banks played in a secret operation to build up Saddam Hussein's military might. Last summer, a joint investigation by ABC's "Nightline" and the *Financial Times* concluded that "Robert Gates was deeply involved as deputy director of the CIA in a major covert operation that funneled weapons and technology to Iraq...The CIA's covert shipments put into Saddam Hussein's

hand some of the most dangerous battlefield weapons in the world."

To carry out these shipments, Gates—now the CIA director-designate—allegedly met with Carlos Cardoen, the head of Industrias Cardoen. This Chilean company, which was the largest private supplier of weapons to Iraq, shipped more than \$500 million worth of weapons to Iraq in the '80s (see *In These Times*, April 17 and Oct. 9).

Industrias Cardoen is licensed to build and ship high-tech artillery guns created by arms dealer Gerald Bull and ArmsCor, an arms manufacturer owned by the South African government.

In 1990, Gerald Bull was assassinated, allegedly by Israeli agents because he was working with Saddam Hussein to build a "supergun" capable of firing nuclear and chemical weapons. Bull, an expert on advanced artillery, had a long history of illegal arms sales. In the late '70s, a congressional staff report found that Bull had conspired with CIA agents to break the U.S. arms embargo against South Africa by shipping technology that allowed ArmsCor to develop sophisticated artillery guns.

In 1990, the Inter Press news service reported that over 200 of these guns had been sold by Cardoen and ArmsCor to Iraq. At least 50 to 70 had been sold to the United Arab Emirates, which is headed by BCCI's largest shareholder.

BCCI enters this affair in two ways. In August, Britain's *Independent* newspaper alleged that BCCI had helped Bull's company, Space Research, smuggle propellant for Hussein's supergun from Belgium to Iraq. The story, largely ignored in the United States, also reported that "a former deputy prime minister [André Cools] of Belgium was killed days after being given BCCI bank statements alleging bribes were paid to beat the arms embargo" to Iraq.

BCCI also loaned at least \$72 million to the Atlanta branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL)—Italy's largest bank. This BNL branch loaned Iraq over \$4 billion between 1985 and 1989 and provided financial services that allowed Hussein to illegally buy hundreds of millions of dollars worth of arms and military supplies. The BNL branch didn't have enough money to take on such large loans, so it illegally financed them by borrowing money from banks like BCCI. The House Banking Committee says that Bull's Space Research Corporation was one of the companies that received illegal financing from BNL for Iraq's weapons program.

Such deals helped keep Hussein in power and dramatically increased the political tensions throughout the Mideast. Confident that the arms would keep flowing, Hussein invaded Iran in 1980 and Kuwait a decade later—conflicts that cost more than a million lives.

But in providing financial services to Saddam Hussein, BCCI was not alone. In the BNL affair, for example, Bank of America transferred \$72 million between BCCI and BNL. J.P. Morgan, a major New York bank, acted as a clearing agent for BNL in the loans to Iraq. And many large European corporations provided the technology and weapons.

A whitewash? Fraud at BCCI burst into the headlines when bank regulators around the world shut down the bank this past July. But like the S&L scandal—which wasn't discovered by the mainstream media until hundreds of billions of dollars had been lost—warning bells at BCCI had been going off for well over a decade. As early as the late '70s, British and American regulators were so

worried about the bank's operations that they denied BCCI key regulatory licenses to expand its operations. Yet BCCI marched on, illegally buying American banks and stealing deposits to cover its huge losses.

Meanwhile, the Reagan and Bush administrations actively obstructed a congressional investigation of the scandal. A Senate subcommittee chaired by Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) has been investigating BCCI for several years. From the start, the subcommittee encountered resistance from the administration. For example, the Justice Department ordered key witnesses not to cooperate with Kerry. The department also refused to produce documents subpoenaed by the subcommittee.

But these machinations are only part of a much larger political scandal—the growing political power of financial institutions over every aspect of the American political system. Over the past decade, securities firms, major banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions have given more money to Congress than any other industry.

For example, the Center for Responsive Politics estimates that in the 1988 election, political action committees (PACs) for the finance, insurance and real-estate industries gave over \$27 million to congressional candidates. That's about 26 percent of all business PAC contributions. Common Cause estimates that between 1983 and 1988, the S&L industry gave \$11.6 million to Congress and party committees.

Despite a decade of financial scandals, this well-oiled lobbying machine has defeated every major attempt to enact tough new U.S. regulations over the financial system.

In BCCI's case, the result has been a better cover-up than anything Oliver North ever concocted. Washington's inaction has allowed BCCI to continue exploiting an obsolete U.S. regulatory system that was set up in the '20s and '30s.

Some reforms may yet come out of the BCCI scandal—but Congress and the White House show little interest in fundamental change. In fact, the mood in Washington is for more deregulation, not less. Sometime this year or next year, Congress is likely to pass White House-sanctioned legislation that will further deregulate the banking and financial industry (see *In These Times*, Oct. 2).

This legislation, which gives banks new freedom to buy insurance companies and set up shop on Wall Street, is designed to help American banks compete in the international financial system. But by reducing government control, the legislation would simply give multinational corporations more power over the world's economy.

Bringing these corporations under control won't be easy. Congress could pass laws putting banks out of business if they launder criminal money, and it could impose tough economic sanctions on offshore havens that refuse to cooperate with U.S. regulations and investigations.

But tough U.S. laws might simply convince financial institutions to move their operations overseas, putting many Americans out of work and making it harder to finance this country's chronic government deficits. It took a group of regulators from five major capitalist companies to shut down BCCI this past summer. It will take many countries, acting together, to bring the system that created BCCI under control. Given the current political climate, that is unlikely. ☐

George Winslow is a New York City freelance writer who regularly covers white-collar crime and international finance.

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Incinerator

Continued from page 7

modifications necessitate reopening permit hearings.

Prevention last: The rapid growth of hazardous waste incineration has been driven by federal environmental policy that stresses regulation rather than prevention of waste. Government contracts for cleanup of Superfund sites and polluted Department of Energy and Defense facilities, will further fuel the hazardous waste incineration business. But many firms prefer incineration to landfills because once the wastes are burned, it's impossible to stick the company with liability for the untraceable ash and pollution left behind.

There are 17 operating commercial hazardous waste incinerators and 35 more proposed. But most hazardous waste is burned at the site of production or in cement kilns, where incineration is considered "recycling" and is less strictly regulated. Yet even with hazardous waste production growing at 5.5 percent a year, there is still excess capacity to burn waste both in Ohio and nationally and no need to build new incinerators. Furthermore, the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment concluded in 1988 that a concerted national effort could cut hazardous waste by 50 percent in five years. Only a few states, however, have initiated waste reduction strategies. Building more incinerators reduces the incentive to generate less waste.

There are also growing doubts about the safety of hazardous waste incinerators in general. In theory, incinerators destroy 99.99 percent of the wastes. But Greenpeace researchers Pat Costner and Joe Thornton conclude in a recent study that there is no way of knowing how well incinerators really work: neither the test burns nor the monitoring procedures reveal the complexities of hazardous waste combustion.

In any case, incinerators' theoretical rates of destruction don't take into account the highly toxic residual ash, spills at the site and in transport and unpredictable emissions. Also, dangerous heavy metals—such as cadmium, lead and mercury—persist, and the so-called "products of incomplete combustion" are often extremely dangerous, ranging from the nerve gas phosgene to dioxins.

As construction of the East Liverpool incinerator got underway, local protest began to build. In late September opponents shut down an EPA hearing with a "funeral for democracy," as people in death masks chanted, "We won't die for WTI." Then with actor Martin Sheen as a star attraction at a rally of 1,000 people on October 13, 33 protestors entered WTI property and knelt in prayer until they were arrested. Since then, protests have continued at least several times a week, including parents and children signing petitions and boycotting classes at the local school.

"We thought that the 'P' in EPA stood for protection," said Alonzo Spencer, a retired steelworker who has fought the incinerator from the beginning. "We thought if we played by the rules and presented our arguments, there's no way this thing could be a reality. But that's not the case."

To pacify the community, WTI has agreed to pay the city a small fee on each ton of waste and to contribute \$1.2 million to the local hospital—after the burning starts. East Liverpool's city council and mayor remain critical of WTI but not very forceful. Ohio Gov. George Voinovich, whose brother is in the waste business, offered only to test children for toxic contaminants. East Liverpool replied in demonstrators' placards: Prevent Child Abuse/Impeach Voinovich.

Protests continue, bringing in new faces. "We've started this little fire," euphoric local opposition leader Connie Stein said, "and now it's started to burn." □

Canada

Continued from page 3

bate on amending the Constitution, which is being conducted in communities across Canada. A previous constitutional agreement, known as the Meech Lake Accord, fell apart last year when a native Indian legislator scuttled the pact by preventing its passage in the Manitoba Legislature. The failure of the Meech Lake Accord, which embarrassed the ruling Conservatives, further strained the already troubled relationship between Quebec and English Canada.

Public outrage forced the Mulroney government to abandon the secret negotiating style that characterized Meech Lake. In the current round of constitutional talks, the public is participating in a broad debate that extends beyond the status of Quebec and the issue of native rights.

For his part, Ontario's Bob Rae is pressing

for a "social charter of rights," that would guarantee all Canadians access to jobs, housing, medical care and other social benefits. (Canada already has constitutional guarantees of gender equality.)

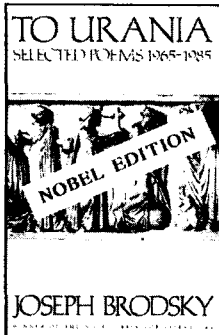
Off the narrow gauge: At the national level, the NDP is now in second place, between the front-running Liberals and Mulroney's Conservatives. Although the New Democratic Party is stronger than ever, it faces substantial opposition from business interests and others who hope to roll back the gains it has made.

But Rae says the NDP's resurgence is "an expression of opinion ... which the federal government is going to have more and more difficulty ignoring." No longer, Rae says, can Canada's Tory leaders "proceed on the narrow ideological course they have been following." □

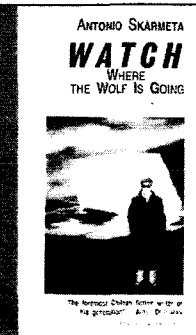
Peter Prognos is a professor of political science at Vancouver Community College.

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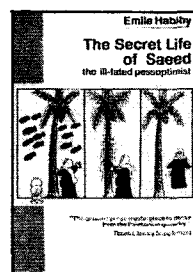
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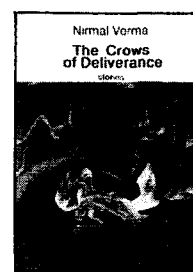
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MAKING A KILLING OFF CHILDREN



Growing evidence shows that paint companies may have pushed their product despite the health risks.

Why paint companies didn't get the lead out and warn consumers sooner

By Doug Turetsky

FEDERAL HEALTH OFFICIALS RELEASED NEW guidelines in October that tightened the government's standard for safe levels of lead in a child's bloodstream. Backed by medical studies showing that amounts of lead that were once thought insignificant can pose serious risks, experts slashed the safe blood-lead level by more than half—from 25 to just 10 micrograms.

Much of the lead menace comes from lead paint, banned 13 years ago but still present in many U.S. homes. For years, that floppy-haired Dutch Boy with a paint can urged Americans to spiff up their houses with paint containing lead. But even as countless families slathered their walls with the deadly pigment, a mounting body of medical re-

search documented lead-based paint's extreme dangers to children. Worse still, there is growing evidence that the smiling little Dutch Boy and his industry cohorts may have known these dangers all along.

Killer in the living room: Now children like Jennifer Wolf are paying the price. Not yet three years old, she may face painful treatment to rid her tissue and bones of the lead absorbed from paint chips and dust in her Bronx apartment. Her mother Beverly Wolf worries that Jennifer has been robbed of her future.

"I'm very angry and frustrated watching my child grow up and not knowing the damage that's been done," says Wolf. "Maybe she could have been a doctor or lawyer."

Jennifer Wolf's story is all too common. Federal health officials estimate that several million children nationwide are afflicted by lead poisoning. The effects of lead in children can be devastating. For some, the first indications of lead poisoning is irritability. Infants may scream uncontrollably. Later these same children may lag behind in school, because their ability to advance in reading and math has been hampered. But learning disabilities are only one of the potential consequences. Lead poisoning can also cause coordination difficulties, loss of appetite, abdominal pain, convulsions, brain damage and death.

The source of the poisoning: in many instances, a child's own home. Lead-laden paint chips and dust cause much of the damage. Children can become contaminated simply by crawling on the floor where lead dust has gathered or from hugging the teddy bear on which it has settled.

The Bush administration is now calling lead poisoning the No. 1 environmental threat facing the nation's children. Estimates of the cost of cleaning up this toxic nightmare range from \$30 billion to \$70 billion.

Coverup? But perhaps the biggest tragedy of all is that this environmental disaster may have been the result of greed rather than accident or lack of information. A group of multimillion-dollar lead and paint manufacturers may simply have kept quiet their knowledge of the hazards of lead-based paint.

Lawsuits filed in several cities are alleging that corporations such as Sherwin-Williams, Glidden, NL Industries and Eagle-Picher Industries continued to promote the use of their products long after the hazards became known. In a suit filed in U.S. District Court in Boston, attorney Neil Leifer charges that the companies and their trade group, the Lead Industries Association (LIA), conspired to mislead and conceal the toxic facts about their products from the public.

"A small group of companies controlled the entire white lead industry. They knew about the dangers," charges Leifer, lawyer for Monica Santiago, an 18-year-old woman who suffered learning disabilities as a result of lead-paint poisoning. "They were acting together through the LIA for their own profit."

The federal government banned the use of lead in paint in 1978. But modern medical evidence that lead paint was poisoning an increasing number of children dates from early this century. Richard Rabin, a Boston health worker whose 1989 article in the *American Journal of Public Health* chronicles the mounting medical awareness of the toll lead paint was taking on children, cites numerous studies from the '20s and '30s. "There were tons of medical journal articles saying that children were being poisoned by the lead paint in their homes," says Rabin.

In 1904 an Australian physician, Lockhart Gibson, pinpointed the connection between

lead paint and lead poisoning in children. By the mid-'20s, similar medical reports were being published by U.S. researchers. During that same time period, a number of countries, including Great Britain, Sweden and Spain, banned or limited the use of lead paint inside homes.

In a 1933 presentation at an American Medical Association conference, Robert Kehoe, head of the Kettering Laboratory of Applied Physiology, which was funded in part by the lead trade group, reported on the dangers of child lead poisoning. Around the same time, the LIA polled manufacturers of toys and children's furniture to determine whether the companies were continuing to use lead paint on their products. With growing awareness

of the danger of lead paint, few said they still used it. For its part, the lead industry encouraged the use of paints with other pigments on cribs and toys.

Seemingly, the industry should have been getting the message about the toxicity of lead paint. Public health and safety workers clearly had. A November 1933 publication of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries—which deals primarily with worker safety—included a special box that noted, "Many serious and even fatal cases of lead poisoning among infants have been traced to the sucking or chewing of lead-painted surfaces."

The next year, the Massachusetts labor department considered regulating the use of lead paint in buildings, an action the LIA

fought. According to two separate lawsuits filed in Philadelphia, the LIA's 1934 annual report declared: "This subject was discussed by [LIA head Felix Wormser] with the state official having the matter in hand and a satisfactory adjustment procured. It was particularly important to obtain a hearing and settlement in Massachusetts, otherwise we might have been plagued with an extension of similar restrictive painting legislation in other states, affecting the use of white lead."

While the industry thwarted regulations, knowledge of the dangers posed by their products grew. In fact, a confidential memo issued in July 1939 by Ernest T. Trigg, president of the National Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Association, flatly places lead paint on

a list of toxic substances. Noting that children's toys and cribs were not the only lead-tainted products endangering humans, Trigg informed members of the association of their potential liability and suggested the use of warning labels.

Pushing poison: How did the industry react? In papers filed in two Philadelphia lawsuits, the attorneys state bluntly: "Instead of issuing public warnings, the LIA, on behalf of the corporate defendants, intentionally initiated a nationwide promotional program to increase the use of lead pigments in the United States by creating a positive image for this product."

Much like the tobacco companies today,

Continued on page 18

Vaccine manufacturer finds sick way to make money

By Zoe Zolbrod

WHEN DAVID ANSTICE, A VICE PRESIDENT of a big U.S. pharmaceutical company, declared this past spring that "it's time to make measles a major public health priority again," it came as no surprise. The sobering statistics on the three-year-old American measles epidemic demand that the country take action against this disease and confront the disintegrating childhood immunization system.

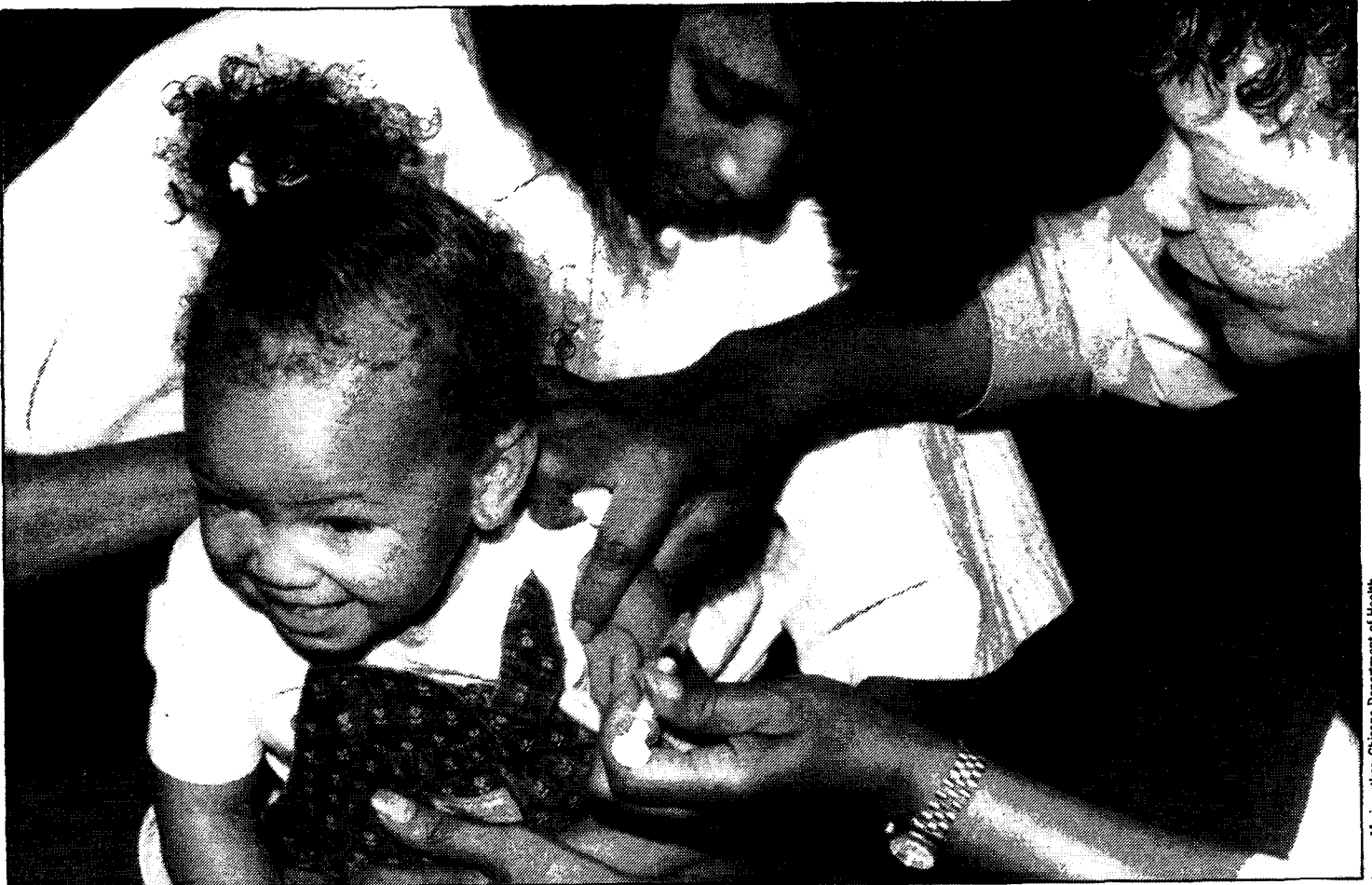
But Anstice has doubly good reason to encourage immunization. His company, Merck, Sharp and Dohme, is the only manufacturer of a vaccine known as MMR that prevents measles, mumps and rubella. Merck's prices, along with its stock dividends, have soared in the last decade.

Merck makes money from measles—too much money, according to critics, who charge that Merck's pricing practices amount to profiteering. "As a nation we cannot allow corporations to make huge profits from vaccines," said Joseph Liu of the Children's Defense Fund.

The high price of MMR—combined with a lack of adequate insurance coverage—has forced thousands of parents to turn to public clinics for their children's vaccination. This influx has not only put a strain on the limited clinic staffs but has helped cause shortages of the vaccine at already-overcrowded public health facilities. As a result, many children are simply not receiving the needed doses of MMR.

A growing epidemic: Measles is an entirely preventable disease. Yet in 1989, it affected more than 18,000 American children—the highest number in over a decade and more than ten times the all-time low number in 1983, when only 1,500 had measles. Nineteen-ninety brought another increase, with more than 25,000 cases reported. Measles can result in deafness, brain damage or death. More than 100 children died in the 1989-1990 epidemic and, although the disease is being checked in some states, that total continues to climb. This dramatic rise underlines the breakdown of the U.S. immunization program, to say nothing of the overall health care system.

Although by law American children must receive adequate immunization when they enter school, the Centers for Disease Control estimates that only 70 to 80 percent of children acquire their proper vaccinations in the preschool years. That number drops to approximately 50 percent in large cities. Vaccinating children at an early age is crucial because most of the children who contract



Jerome Meriwether, Chicago Department of Health

In the past 10 years, the cost of a measles vaccine has jumped 300 percent in the private sector and 500 percent for public health agencies.

diseases in epidemics such as measles are under the age of five.

"Immunization is now a mark of a civilized nation," said Boston City Hospital pediatrician Alan Meyers. "Almost every Third World country has a better immunization rate than we do."

Easy money: Ever since the '70s when the government first made measles a priority, Merck's prices have skyrocketed. In the past decade, the cost of the MMR vaccine has risen 300 percent in the private sector. A single dose of the vaccine now costs more than \$22, not including administrative fees. Public health centers purchase the vaccine at a discounted rate under a contract negotiated by the federal government. Nonetheless, the contracted price has risen 500 percent since 1981—with taxpayers picking up much of the tab.

Merck claims the price hikes are largely due to research costs. Critics question that, however, pointing out that over the past five years Merck stockholders have seen a return on their investment of approximately 427 percent, including a 16 percent increase in 1990.

Furthermore, Merck has virtually no need to advertise this particular product, because the company is the only manufacturer of a vac-

cine required for all American school children. This requirement was put into place in the late '70s, when the federal government launched a national immunization initiative. In 1990, the government issued guidelines requiring two doses of MMR, not just one, to be administered before a child enters school. Thus, by a government decree, the sales of Merck's vaccine doubled in one year with almost no extra cost to the company.

At a March 11 hearing of the House subcommittee on health and the environment, chairman Henry Waxman (D-CA) expressed concern about Merck's pricing policies. He was particularly disturbed to discover that Merck-manufactured MMR costs less in Canada and some European countries than it does in the U.S.

Addressing Merck executive David Anstice, Waxman said, "When this is the only drug available, the only drug for dealing with measles; when you are the only manufacturer of that vaccine; when the government mandates that your product be sold; when we are in the middle of an epidemic, it seems hard for me to accept the idea that the U.S. government and U.S. citizens should be paying more for this vaccine in order to make up for the fact that you had a lower price when you had

competitors in one country, or because you had to lower the price because of government regulations in another country. Our consumers should not be subsidizing the lower price for other countries buying this vaccine."

Waxman asked Merck's board of directors to review its most recent MMR price increases and to hold off further price hikes until the epidemic is under control. Merck spokesman Gary Bruell told *In These Times* that the company has not rolled back any prices and has not made decisions about future increases. "We think the vaccine is a bargain at its current price. It protects against three diseases, so we're really looking at a cost [in the private sector] of about \$8 per disease," said Bruell.

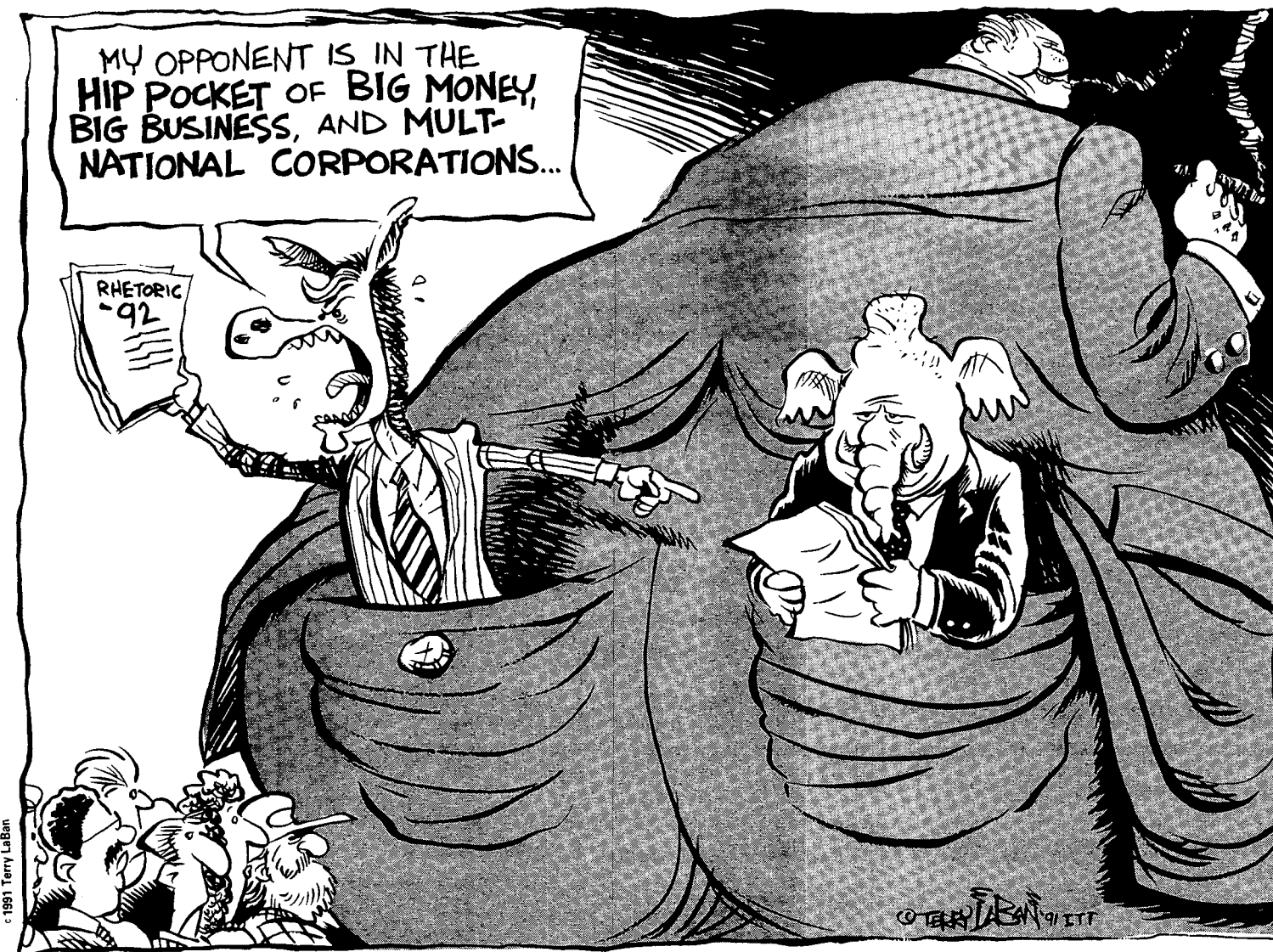
A sick system: But the escalating cost of this "bargain" vaccine—as well as the fact that most insurance policies do not include immunization as part of their basic benefits package—has put a strain on many American families. A growing number of parents who would normally take their children to private physicians are now forced to turn to publicly funded health centers for immunization.

In Dallas County, Texas, for example, the percentage of children referred to clinics for

Continued on page 18

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 30-NOV. 5, 1991 13

EDITORIAL



The tone is improving, now where's the beef?

Last week former California governor Edmund Brown, Jr. announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president. This is Brown's third try for the presidency. As in his previous efforts, he is running as an outsider, as an anti-establishment figure who denounces both major parties and appeals to citizens who are so estranged from current officeholders that they don't bother to vote. Brown's main theme should be familiar to readers of *In These Times*. "In reality there's only one party," the incumbent party, which is the party of big money, he says. "There are, of course, two major political organizations with different names," but at their core they are the same. Together, they form "an unholy alliance of private greed and corrupt politics" that is responsible for "our deteriorating economy, our collapsing political process and our eroding system of values."

Our democracy, Brown argues, "has been the object of a hostile takeover, engineered by a confederacy of corruption, careerism and campaign consultants. And money has been the lubricant greasing the deal. Incredible sums—hundreds of millions of dollars," he says, "have flooded into the campaign chests of Washington's entrenched political elite, Democrats and Republicans alike."

Lots of Americans share these views with Brown, and he is apparently counting on them to rush to support him with their money and votes. Promising to ignore the big-money special interests—a promise he can well afford to make given his lack of such support—Brown says he will not accept any contribution of more than \$100. "No normal presidential campaign could hope to survive on \$100 contributions," he says. Therefore, "This candidacy will succeed only if millions of Americans claim it as their own and carry it on their shoulders."

Of course, this will not happen. For even though an overwhelming majority of Americans understand that the leaders of both parties—particularly of the Republican Party—are servants of wealth, Brown's record does not inspire confidence that he will represent working people. For starters, he has himself raised more than \$20 million for five previous statewide or national campaigns. More important, while Brown demonstrated his ability to respond to the popular mood of the moment and to make the easy promises, he said nothing about what he would do as president. Glossing over the

profound problems facing the nation, he opted instead for a demagogic appeal to anti-incumbent sentiment.

That sentiment does indeed flow from a widespread belief among middle- and lower-income working people that most political officeholders are beholden only to the wealthy. But, as a just-released survey by the Times-Mirror Center for the People and the Press found, an overwhelming majority of Americans want to know more about the substantive views of candidates for national office. They are deeply concerned about the degradation of our own society and they evince little interest in policing the world for the benefit of international corporations. They show a good deal less interest in candidates' personal backgrounds and experiences than they do about issues—80 percent said they wanted to see more media coverage of candidates discussing their positions on issues and 83 percent wanted to hear candidates talk about domestic issues.

The three domestic issues uppermost in the popular mind are the economy (43 percent), unemployment, protecting U.S. jobs (15 percent) and education (11 percent). Abortion, health care, homelessness and the budget deficit follow closely behind. Only 5 percent were interested in defense. Those surveyed indicated a strong desire to have these issues aired in some depth. When asked if they thought it would be a good idea for the major presidential candidates to "talk about policies they plan to follow," to "answer questions about their policies," and to "debate each other" in a series of nine weekly television appearances, 77 percent said yes.

Campaign consultants of both major parties have carefully steered away from serious discussion of these issues. They have instead conducted campaigns modeled on selling soap or automobiles, when they weren't simply engaging in verbal or visual dirty tricks.

It has become habitual for consultants and candidates to underestimate the intelligence and interest of the American electorate and in the process create what they project—a people distrustful of and disinterested in politics. This has especially been the Republican game plan, because they have the most to lose from a serious discussion of the problems facing American society. But the Democrats have gone along in recent presidential campaigns because they, too, have represented the special corporate interests that rule our society.

Now, the Democrats can win if they are willing to stop playing the Bush administration game and propose a basic reorientation of our national priorities. Conventional wisdom—reinforced daily by the commercial media—says that George Bush is unbeatable. We think he is extremely vulnerable, but only to candidates who will reinforce their rhetoric with substance.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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LETTERS

Unfortunate exaggeration

DANIEL LAZARE'S "THE NEW WORLD DISORDER" (JTT, Oct. 2) quotes me as follows regarding the Crown Heights situation: "I now have altered my views somewhat [about black anti-Semitism]. I now think a new and dangerous situation has arisen." Aside from Lazare's interpellation "about black anti-Semitism" where I would use "about anti-Semitism among African-Americans," this is an accurate quotation. However, being preceded by Lazare's statement about "fears of rising black anti-Semitism" and followed by his statement about a "near-pogrom in Crown Heights," it inaccurately implies that I consider the recent increase in anti-Semitism among African-Americans in and out of Crown Heights to pose a serious danger for Jews. I do not.

Actually, as I tried to explain to Lazare, I believe the increase in anti-Semitism of the Crown Heights street variety and Jeffries' pseudo-scholarly variety among relatively powerless African-Americans does not pose a serious threat to Jews—but to African-Americans. For this anti-Semitism and the reaction to it of abhorrence and increased racism among Jews and other whites is creating a significant obstacle in addition to those already impeding the achievement of the African-American community's agenda for equality and justice.

It is doing so by reducing support for the agenda in the white population, particularly among Jews, who have until now been its strongest supporters. Further, this anti-Semitism that designates Jews as the enemy, if not the main enemy, of African-Americans diverts the latter from struggling against the political and economic establishment that is the real source of their deprivation and in which Jews, even in New York City, much less at the state and national levels, play a minor role. This anti-Semitism and the reaction to it also poses a danger for the nation as a whole, since most African-Americans and Jews are part of the liberal-progressive sector, and a war between their communities would split and weaken it.

The undeniable recent increase in anti-Semitism among African-Americans should not be exaggerated as most journalists, like Lazare, tend to do. It is spreading, but it is not deep-rooted. If counteracted by condemnation from political, religious and academic authorities and other prominent personalities—which has thus far been minimal—in combination with social and political action by coalitions, including Jews and African-Americans, for equal police protection and protection from the police, for transferring funds from the military to government programs providing jobs, health care, etc., anti-Semitism can be contained at the fringes of the African-American community, where, as with other U.S. ethnic groups, it has long festered.

Alfred J. Kutzik
Associate Editor, Jewish Affairs
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Daniel Lazare replies: If a stone-throwing anti-Semitic mob that kills one Jew does not constitute a serious threat, what does? A mob that kills three or four? Five or six? Of course, black anti-Semitism is likely to backfire and wind up hurting blacks. To the degree it contributes to a rising tide of racism and national-



ism, it will wind up hurting women, minorities and the left in general. But, Al Kutzik's semantic games notwithstanding, it also hurts Jews, as the murder of Yankel Rosenbaum attests.

Clamshells

PETER SISKIND ERRS ON A COUPLE OF POINTS IN his review of Barbara Epstein's book on the non-violent direct action movements of the '70s and '80s (JTT, Sept. 18).

Siskind says the only "efficacious political action" available to the Clamshell Alliance as it prepared for the June 1978 occupation was to cut fences and "forcibly" occupy the Seabrook nuclear site.

A minority faction indeed believed that seizing the site was the only "efficacious" action. Such occupations gave the movement its political romance.

But Clamshell's core organizers, in our more sober moments, understood that the real value of occupations was in the resulting publicity and its effect on movement-building. What captured the public's imagination in 1977 was Clamshell's disciplined non-violence, not territorial conquest.

Siskind blames "the ambitions of self-appointed leaders" for Clamshell's collapse after the June 1978 action. That badly misrepresents the character of Clamshell's organizers. Clamshell acquired leadership by investing time and energy in organizing. Many on the New Hampshire seacoast gave years to this struggle. Yes, they short-circuited the consensus process in transforming the occupation into a legal rally. But calling this "ambition" is empty rhetoric.

As Epstein relates in her generally accurate account, the fence-cutters' inflammatory style convinced key organizers on the New Hampshire seacoast that the upcoming action would not be conducted in Clamshell's non-violent tradition. In that sense,

the occupation was already dead. If the Coordinating Committee's consequent decision to go legal had been sent out to all groups for a consensus, they would still be debating the issue today and nothing would have occurred at Seabrook in 1978. There were no happy solutions.

Clamshell may have failed to bring about utopian community, but this failure had nothing to do with the "ambitious" leaders of Siskind's imagination. We made mistakes, we fell short. But we helped wound the nuclear behemoth, and in the process thousands got at least a glimpse of a better way of being in the world.

Eric Wolfe
San Francisco

Distortions

YOUR AUGUST 7 ISSUE CARRIED A LETTER FROM photographer Bill Gentile taking issue with your earlier reference to a brief item in our publication, *Lies of Our Times* (April 1991). He disputed our assertion that the grimace on the face of the captured Iraqi soldier in his photo appeared "softened" on the cover of *Newsweek* (March 4) when contrasted with the reproduction of the same photo in the *New York Times* (March 4), *Newsday* (March 4) and the cover of our March issue.

What is most disturbing is that, after receiving his letter, you did not bother to contact us and simply printed his letter with an editor's note in which you "regret repeating the error." You say, "We should have independently verified the allegation." Indeed, you should have. What is more, you should have independently verified his assertion. We have in our possession the AP photograph, purchased from their photo service, Wide World Photos, and the respective issues of the two newspapers and the magazine. In fact, all of the photos except *Newsweek* show deep furrows in the middle

of the prisoner's brow and deep creases leading from his eye. The *Newsweek* cover does not show these lines.

The subtleties do not photocopy well, but we would be glad to show these items to anyone you wish to ask to visit our office. (I am sure you can get a copy of the *New York Times* in question, even in the wilds of Chicago.) The distinction is obvious to anyone who compares the images. It is, of course, possible, as Gentile insists, that his image was not *deliberately* manipulated by *Newsweek*; it is possible that the face appeared softened because of the limitations of the printing processes used by *Newsweek*, although other nearby details in their cover seem much more sharply defined.

William H. Schaap
New York

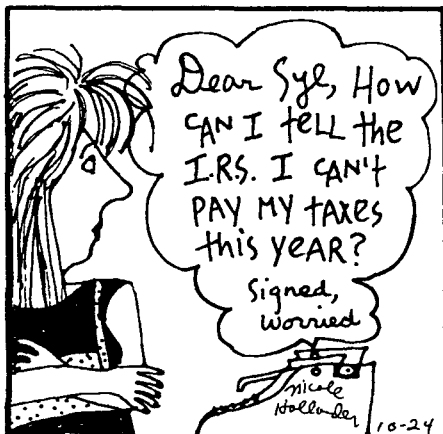
Ribbon color

JOEL BLEIFUSS' PORTRAYAL OF LENORA FULANI, Fred Newman and Al Sharpton as fascist demagogues (JTT, Oct. 9) holds water only if the New Alliance Party's central theme—that our present political system of two parties financed by the super-rich is fast leading to moral, economic, social and environmental disaster—can be shown to be false. Otherwise, we are talking about leaders who have the integrity and courage to address the legitimate concerns of the people. And to define NAP's political representation of the legitimate interests of people of color, homosexuals, the working class and others as "racial nationalism" and, therefore, "proto-fascist" misses the point of what fascism is all about: a consortium of corporate owners exploiting their control of the political system and the media to persuade the majority that they must give over their own rights and powers to the corporate state so that it can protect them from the demons of its own creation with a disposition to kill large numbers of innocent people in the process.

So, for many of us who see the color of the ribbons as the main difference between Mussolini in Libya and Bush in Iraq, NAP is the only nationwide political party in totally uncompromising opposition to the evolution of fascism in the U.S. Fulani will be the only presidential candidate on the ballot in '92 without funding by corporate owners. To describe her as a front for a white man's cult denies not only the extensive descriptions of Dr. Newman's personal and political history which have appeared in NAP publications but, more importantly, the exciting potential of social therapy to overcome the cynical apathy that is the main obstacle to the establishment of real democracy in the U.S.

Alan J. Port
Athens, Ill.

SYLVIA



Dear Syl, How CAN I tell the I.R.S. I CAN'T PAY MY TAXES THIS YEAR?

Signed,
Worried

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Dear Worried, the I.R.S. is VERY UNDERSTANDING. Just go down to the nice ivy-covered building where they have their offices and tell the MOTHERLY RECEPTIONIST you CAN'T PAY YOUR TAXES BECAUSE you HAD to BUY A PONY,



OR A LOT OF COMPACT DISCS. SHE'LL PROBABLY ACT ANNOYED AT FIRST AND CALL SOME OTHER PEOPLE TO THREATEN TO TAKE AWAY EVERYTHING YOU OWN, BUT AFTER A WHILE THEY'LL ALL LAUGH AND SAY, "JUST KIDDING," AND GIVE YOU SOME GIFTS AND CHOCOLATE AND SEND YOU HOME IN A CAB.

By Sara Nelson

Christic Institute was grossly misrepresented in 'Bo' Gritz story

THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE HAS THE GREATEST respect for *In These Times* in general and for Joel Bleifuss in particular, but I object to the accusations reported as fact in Bleifuss' "The First Stone" columns of October 2 and October 9. These distort our former relationship with retired military officer "Bo" Gritz and grossly misrepresent our investigation of the linkage between drug trafficking and covert warfare.

The Christic Institute does not form alliances with racist or anti-Semitic extremists, nor do we promote "conspiracy theories" on any subject.

We deserve better from *In These Times*. Has Bleifuss already forgotten that the institute represented the families of anti-Klan demonstrators who were murdered by the American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, N.C., in a trial that produced one of the few verdicts in a Southern court finding a local police force guilty of collusion with extremist violence? Has he already forgotten that Christic Institute South has consistently defended African-American voting-rights advocates, tenant organizers and elected officials from racist persecution, or that the institute helped the African-American voters of Keyville, Ga., win back the right to elect their own town government, or that we are trying to prevent white developers from seizing the homes of African-American families on the South Carolina Sea Islands?

In light of the Christic Institute's history of principled opposition to racial injustice, we had a right to expect that criticism of the institute's former relationship with "Bo" Gritz would be reported with some sense of proportion. Instead, Bleifuss asserts that "so far the Christics have not disassociated themselves from Gritz." Wrong. Father Bill

Davis—who is the principal target of these allegations—told Bleifuss *before* his column went to press that he repudiated Gritz' extremist associations after he learned of Gritz' involvement in the racist "Populist Party." Moreover, Bleifuss suggests that Father Davis shared a platform at Gritz' "Freedom '90" meeting last year with a notorious anti-Semite. Wrong again. If he had bothered to ask anyone at the institute about this accusation, Bleifuss would have learned that Bill Davis did not know the anti-Semitic speaker was on the program, was sickened when he heard the speaker's opening remarks and walked out of the meeting in protest.

Bleifuss quotes an anonymous "former Christic employee" who says, "[W]e should have had a process where information from a source like Gritz—whether it is rock solid or whether it is hallucinatory—should be listened to and evaluated." We could have told Bleifuss, if he had asked, that the institute has never used Gritz as a source. Moreover, the institute always attempts to confirm allegations made by any source—right-wing or otherwise.

It is true that the institute's investigators sometimes interview sources whose views could be described as right-wing. To conduct a proper investigation of the Contra supply network—which Oliver North spun together from a collection of right-wing mercenaries, embittered Cuban exiles and anti-communist drug traffickers—it would be impossible to establish the truth without talking to sources who were personally involved.

In any event, the institute learned only recently that Gritz was involved in the ex-

tremist "Populist Party." The charges against Gritz, if true, are extremely serious. Both racism and anti-Semitism are abhorrent to the Christic Institute.

The institute can be criticized for having failed to look more carefully into Gritz' background. We can also be criticized for not having severed our relationship with him earlier than we did. I accept both this criticism and the responsibility to repudiate any extremist who attempts to use the institute's good name and reputation to enhance his credibility. But it is unconscionable and grotesque to use this former relationship to link the Christic Institute with racism and anti-Semitism. This is nothing less than guilt by association.

As far as our alleged "conspiracy theories" about drug trafficking are concerned, Bleifuss himself has used information supplied by the institute for his articles about John Hull, a drug trafficker who acted as Oliver North's liaison with the Contras in Costa Rica. He knows that eyewitnesses have testified in sworn depositions that cocaine was smuggled through Hull's Contra supply base on the Nicaraguan border. All of the institute's allegations on the linkage between covert operations and the drug trade are similarly documented. They are not "conspiracy theories" but a record of fact established after years of painstaking research.

What is the source for Bleifuss' unsupported assertion that "Gritz and the Christic Institute both champion the idea that a cabal within the U.S. government is running drugs?" I cannot speak for Gritz, whom I have never met, but I seriously doubt anyone at the institute has ever accused government officials of "running drugs."

We do, however, charge that senior officials knew that the Contras were deeply compromised by the drug trade and that the Reagan administration protected traffickers from arrest and prosecution. If there is any doubt that Oliver North, for instance, knew that Contra supply planes were being used to smuggle drugs into the U.S. or that North blocked a Drug Enforcement Agency investigation of drug trafficking, I can only refer to North's own notebook entries on the subject, which have been a matter of public record for several years, and to the narcotics subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which in 1989 substantially confirmed the institute's conclusions about administration interference with drug enforcement investigations.

Finally, Bleifuss quotes approvingly a critic who suggests that the institute is one of those left-wing groups "whose world view is dominated by conspiracy theories." This "conspiratorial outlook is fundamentally at odds with a world view that sees social, political and economic forces as the motivating factors."

Bleifuss never asked anyone at the institute whether our "world view" is based on "conspiracy" or whether we have a "world view" or what that "world view" might be. Naturally, like any other progressive organization, the institute believes that social, political and economic forces operate in history. We also believe that U.S. covert op-

erations during the Cold War were essentially criminal in nature. These are not "conspiracy theories" but rather conventional opinions shared by most progressive organizations and, I hope, by the editorial board of *In These Times*.

The only "conspiracy theory" evident in this discussion is the canard that the institute is conniving with racists or serving as a conduit for right-wing ideology.

The Christic Institute has paid its dues as a consistent and principled defender of civil liberties and an equally consistent adversary of racism and anti-Semitism. We do not expect an apology from *In These Times*, but when we make a mistake—as we certainly did in the case of our ignorance of "Bo" Gritz' extremist connections—we hope your reporting will be fair-minded and balanced.

Sara Nelson is national director of the Christic Institute, Washington, D.C.

Christic questions answered

By Joel Bleifuss

MY APOLOGIES TO ANY READER WHO construed my columns of October 2 and 9 as implying that the Christic Institute supports racism or anti-Semitism, which, of course, it does not.

I am glad to hear Sara Nelson admit that the institute "can be criticized for having failed to look more carefully into Gritz' background [and] for not having severed [its] relationship with him earlier."

The very first thing that I did in late September upon discovering the above-mentioned relationship was to call the Christic Institute, with which I have had a good relationship for almost five years. In those years I have devoted a good number of columns to their work, bringing the Contra-cocaine connection to light. The spokesman at the Washington office referred me to Father Bill Davis who explained the Institute's relationship with Bo Gritz. Due to lack of space I did cut his statement disavowing any personal support of the Populist Party. I just took that for granted.

I am pleased to hear now that Davis walked out of Gritz' "Freedom Call '90" event in July 1990. I wish he had told me that when I asked him about his attendance at the Gritz conference, rather than explaining to me that he did not find out about Gritz' connection with the Populist Party until this summer. Further, I just assumed he had attended the conference, since a tape of his speech at "Freedom Call '90" can be ordered from Gritz' Center for Action, as advertized in the Summer/Fall 1991 Prevailing Winds Research catalogue—the one with Christic Founder Daniel Sheehan on the cover.

In hindsight, if I had known what I know now, I could have asked Davis if he walked out of the Gritz-sponsored events I mentioned attending. Further, I might have inquired why Christic Institute volunteers manned a table at the conference by Gritz on September 7 half weeks before my talk.

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"I am from the United States. It has been embarrassing for me to be here and watch the U.S. delegation ignore the international consensus by refusing to establish targets and timelines to reduce climate change. I speak for many young people in the U.S. who have begun to wonder whether our government is basing its decisions on a safe approach to the 1992 elections rather than a sincere commitment to sustainable development and environmental protection. We call on the U.S. delegation to support a binding protocol on climate change. We will continue to be active and make our voices heard." —Karen Plaut, student of Stanford University and delegate to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

By Kristin Dawkins

IT WAS 5 P.M. ON ONE OF THE LAST DAYS of the third month-long preparatory negotiations for the "Earth Summit," the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that will be finalized in Rio de Janeiro next June. Karen Plaut's 30-second statement was followed by similarly blunt words from four other regions of the world—all members of the international Student Environmental Action Coalition condemning the economic model that is destroying the planet and spreading poverty throughout the world.

I, too, felt embarrassed by my government's positions. Karen and I were among at least 230 representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) officially accredited to participate in the third UNCED Preparatory Committee session, held in August in Geneva, Switzerland. Over and over, people from all over the world wanted to know what we as U.S. citizens were doing to change the way the Bush administration was singlehandedly blocking the progress of these negotiations.

Perhaps most outrageous was the attempt by administration officials to elevate free markets to the level of "general principles" that might become part of the Earth Charter. "UNCED principles should reflect the central role that market mechanisms play to achieve sustainable development," pronounced the U.S. government in an official statement on August 20. In virtually every international forum—UNCED, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the North American Free Trade Agreement and its extension "to Tierra del Fuego" through the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative—the U.S. is advocating deregulated markets for trade and investment.

The NGO Working Group on Poverty and Affluence, made up of the most progressive participants in the Geneva meeting, answered back: "If a free market is desired, then it has to be freed from the control of the transnational corporations through regulation by governments.... Trade is not absolutely good. Trade in slaves, drugs, arms or endangered species is bad even though it does generate a great deal of economic activity.... In recent decades, millions of farmers responded to market incentives, converting their land to export crops and joining the global commodities markets. When these markets were deregulated, the farmers were left more vulnerable than before."

Likewise, market strategies pushed by the industrialized countries to increase the

Ugly Americans obstruct plans for a cleaner Earth

export of raw logs can mean environmental degradation, extinction of animal species and loss of jobs in wood processing industries. Contrary to the official U.S. position, the opening of markets to increase exports in a world of finite resources is not a strategy to achieve sustainable development.

My last evening in Geneva, I witnessed a dramatic 90-minute debate on poverty between U.S. negotiator Gerald Kamens and representatives of Zimbabwe, India and other countries. The draft text read that the "alleviation of poverty is crucial for sustainable development." Zimbabwe's negotiator Margaret Mukahanana proposed that the world's goal should be the "eradication" of poverty instead of mere "alleviation." The U.S. government said no. According to their logic, eradicating poverty is not "crucial" to achieve sustainable development, and so it would be incorrect to make "eradication" a goal of UNCED.

No other government backed the U.S., although Canada suggested a compromise: substituting the phrase "sustainable development is best achieved through the eradication of poverty." This was rejected as too weak. India finally proposed that the working group do one of two things: either take the time to go through the document word by word in order to fully expose the U.S. position or accept the bulk of the text as written—including "alleviation" instead of "eradication"—and focus debate the following day on the specific programs and activities proposed in the final point. Exhausted by U.S. intransigence regarding the eradication of poverty, the group opted for the latter and went home for the night.

Although President George Bush is expected to join the heads of state of more than 100 countries next June in Rio to sign whatever final agreements may be achieved at UNCED, the U.S. negotiators seem to be working hard to ensure that there won't be any agreements of consequence. Take, for

President Bush has refused to accept specific limitations on carbon dioxide emissions despite nearly every other nation's willingness to do so.

example, the proposed treaty on global warming. In its official Statement on Atmosphere, the U.S. complained that key UNCED documents "focus almost exclusively ... on recommendations to address one environmental issue—climate change—through one sector—energy"—as if oblivious to findings that energy use as a sector of world economic activity will contribute to more than three-quarters of the total global warming impact for the period from 1985-2100. Furthermore, the U.S. statement went on, "Any discussion of policy recommendations, if focused on climate change, neces-

sarily duplicates and potentially preempts the work of the INC [the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change]."

What they didn't say is that they are blocking progress here, too. In the latest talks of the INC, the administration refused to accept specific limitations on its carbon dioxide emissions despite the willingness of almost every other country to do so. Those talks concluded when, at the last minute, Britain and Japan joined the U.S. in opposing mandatory targets. Back in Geneva, the U.S. delegation told NGOs that it stood by its "firm commitment" to "no targets and no timetables" in cutting back carbon emissions to slow global warming. So what may be signed in Rio will probably be limited to a "framework convention," essentially just an agreement to talk some more.

The forests agreement, too, will probably be limited to a statement of principles. In Geneva, the developing countries were able to derail the U.S. attempt to win publicity for President Bush by signing a treaty that obliged them to halt deforestation while ignoring American obligations. Malaysia's Ambassador Ting Wen Lian caused an uproar in March, arguing that a forests treaty should require a minimum level of forest cover for each country—"particularly the developed countries that have undergone extensive deforestation. ... Countries that allocate more than their fair share in forest land [should] be compensated" and "any losses incurred by traditional users in preserving certain forests or modifying existing forest-land-use [should] be compensated."

As a result of the Malaysian initiative, Bush now appears to be desperate for any type of forests agreement. The U.S. delegation told NGOs in Geneva that it would offer the developing countries "anything they want—but for some reason, they don't hear us." This can only mean that Bush is not listening, since the developing countries make it quite clear that what they need is the one thing the U.S. won't put on the table: "additional" resources—that is, financing that would be in addition to existing foreign aid programs—enabling them to comply with the terms of a new treaty. Indeed, developing countries regard such financing as less a question of aid than of compensation for national and local sacrifices to be made on behalf of the global environment.

The concept of compensation can also be applied in the industrialized countries. Loggers out of work in the Pacific Northwest of the U.S., for example, due to recent legislation protecting old-growth forests and the spotted owl on public lands also deserve support enabling them to retrain or relocate, or helping local mill-owners to re-tool. But even domestically, the U.S. has failed to take adjustment programs seriously. In winning passage of the 1990 Clean Air Act, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell's deal with the Senate precluded any bills that would help mineworkers adjust to cutbacks in coal-fired electricity generation.

Back in Geneva, the Latin American NGOs

took this concept of compensation another step forward, asking UNCED to consider the actual losses caused by exploitation in the past. Their document, entitled "External Debt and Ecological Debt," signed by 21 NGO representatives of eight Latin American nations, put a new twist on so-called debt-for-nature swaps. In these deals, Northern NGOs such as the World Wildlife Fund and the Nature Conservancy buy portions of a country's external debt at a deep discount; the face value of the debt is erased from the banks' portfolios and invested in bonds in countries that support long-term conservation projects. The Latin Americans instead proposed that external debt should be swapped for the region's ecological and social losses derived from colonialism and past exploitative foreign investment.

U.S. insistence on the World Bank as the administrator of any environmental and development funds also worries the NGOs and nations of the South. They know well the effects of World Bank-sponsored boondoggles that displaced villages, eliminated habitats of rare species and destroyed the ecological balance of vast regions in addition to constraining local economies through austerity budgets and spiraling debt. "In any case," propounds the U.S. in its official UNCED Statement on Institutional Issues, "the World Bank must be a full and active participant in any effective process for coordinating international environment and development activities."

The World Bank may call its investment in dams, roads and railways, heavy equipment for logging and open cast mining, and harbors for shipping "development." But Ghanaian economist Charles Abugre argues that such infrastructure investments are made to facilitate the extraction of the South's resources for the benefit of transnational corporations. This view is reinforced by testimony of the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State who bragged to the U.S. Congress in 1978 that "every dollar we pay into the multilateral development banks generates about \$3 business for U.S. firms." Furthermore, the voting power in the World Bank is based upon the financial contributions of donor countries, so, as Abugre puts it, "the development priorities of the Third World are accordingly decided by a few countries in the North."

For the majority of the world's nations, the pending crises of global warming, ozone depletion and acid rain are not nearly as threatening as their immediate crises of poverty, desertification and starvation. At a reception sponsored by the Malaysian delegation in Geneva, their chief negotiator told me, "This is the last chance for the developing countries."

The next and last negotiating session before the Brazil meeting of UNCED will take place in New York City in March. The citizens of the United States have an opportunity to stop this bludgeoning of the South by our government. We must not let George Bush pose for publicity shots, pen in hand, on the basis of a treaty on forests that binds tropical countries to agreements they cannot afford to enforce and on the basis of a framework convention on climate change that commits ourselves to no obligations.

Kristin Dawkins is a senior fellow at the Institute for the Agriculture and Trade Policy in Minneapolis.

Lead

Continued from page 13

the Lead Industry Association attempted during the '40s to refute the mounting medical reports of childhood lead poisoning linked to lead-based paint. For example, LIA head Wormser claimed that virtually all reports of childhood lead poisoning were erroneous, in part because the use of lead paint on toys and cribs had stopped. But a 1943 article in *Time* magazine noted that children could suffer lead poisoning from paint on window-sills and other surfaces. *Time* also cited a study in the *American Journal of Diseases of Children* that confirmed the very tragic effects of lead poisoning.

But the industry continued to block efforts to put warning labels on paint cans. As recently as 1953, the National Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Association—the same outfit that 14 years earlier had issued a confidential memo to its members that included lead on a list of toxic substances—lobbied against a proposed New York City requirement that a warning label be placed on cans of lead-based paint. The association's August 10, 1953, newsletter stated: "We contend this regulation is unnecessary, unjustified and places an undue burden on members of our industry who distribute their products in New York City."

New York City eventually banned lead paint in 1959. But health department inspectors found lead-based paint being sold in stores nearly 15 years later, says Alan Kleinman, an attorney for the city, which has a suit pending against the lead-paint industry.

Even after the federal government banned lead paint in 1978, it did little about cleaning

up the problem. And now the companies that manufactured and profited from lead paint are shirking responsibility for the mess and denying charges that they covered up public knowledge of the hazards.

57 million tainted homes: Richard Jambor of Glidden, a major paint manufacturer, insists his company has never been involved in any kind of coverup. Referring to corporate records, he says, "I don't see any internal correspondence" that would substantiate such an allegation.

Mark Allen, vice president and corporate secretary of Fuller-O'Brien, says his company was only recently named in allegations concerning lead paint and was not prepared to comment until further research of corporate records was completed. *In These Times'* repeated calls to attorneys for other corporations as well as the Lead Industry Association were not returned.

Glidden's Jambor may reflect the attitude of his colleagues when he argues that the paint industry is being unfairly singled out for responsibility for lead poisoning. He notes the past use of lead in pipes and gas and its continued presence in some ceramics and crystal. Jambor also contends that lead paint was used primarily on exterior surfaces and its use inside homes occurred for a relatively short period of time.

But a study released last December by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) paints a different picture. It reveals the prevalence of lead-based paint in homes: some two-thirds of private homes and apartment buildings constructed before 1980 contain lead paint. That equals approximately 3 million tons of lead in 57 million homes. And these numbers don't in-

clude the thousands of public housing units also likely to have been coated with lead.

As evidenced by recent changes in federal guidelines, researchers are finding lead increasingly hazardous and its threat widespread. In New York City alone, the new blood-level guideline adds 180,000 kids to the hundreds of thousands previously considered at risk of lead poisoning. And the threat of poisoning is real in rich and poor neighborhoods alike. Since lead-based paint was considered the most attractive and durable, it was the paint of choice among wealthy home-owners. But the residents of run-down dwellings are most likely to face the risk from peeling and crumbling paint.

Brothers in harms: The alleged lead-paint whitewash bears striking historical resemblance to the corporate coverup of the health hazards of asbestos. A 1964 report by Dr. Irving Selikoff of New York's Mt. Sinai Hospital revealed that for 40 years the asbestos industry ignored or suppressed studies that documented the dangers of inhaling asbestos fibers. In the '40s, for example, officials of the Johns-Manville Corporation admitted to a union lawyer that many of its employees had asbestos disease—and that the company's own doctors had the X-rays of the affected workers. Fearing the cost of lost work time and lawsuits, Johns-Manville refused to tell the workers. But two decades—and thousands of ruined lives—later, the dangers from asbestos came to light. Numerous lawsuits were filed by individuals and localities to try to reclaim some of the personal and public costs of this health disaster.

Ironically, the Johns-Manville Corporation, which was at the heart of the asbestos scandal, was hired by HUD in 1975 to find a

way to seal up lead paint. Johns-Manville's answer: cover it with asbestos.

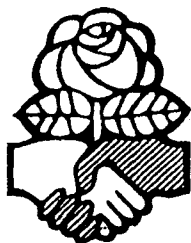
Washington has provided few better solutions. Although the Bush administration has now declared lead paint a major environmental health problem, it has largely failed to commit the federal funds needed to address the problem. The administration has instead placed the burden on cash-strapped states and cities.

These localities are beginning to address the problem in the courts. Lawsuits filed by the cities of Philadelphia and New York against the lead-paint industry could, if successful, go a long way toward funding programs to help ease the problem. The complaint—filed on behalf of the city of Philadelphia and its housing authority—seeks money from lead-paint manufacturers to help the city carry out mandated inspection and abatement programs. Plaintiffs on the class-action suit include all cities with populations greater than 100,000. If successful, the suit could also earn these other cities assistance from the industry. Another complaint, filed by New York City's law department, seeks more than \$50 million to help the city address its lead-paint conditions.

If, as current evidence suggests, the lead-paint manufacturers have indeed ignored or attempted to whitewash knowledge of the hazards of their products, they should be held accountable. Right now, lead contamination means another costly environmental cleanup for the nation. But it's children like Jennifer Wolf who are paying the biggest price.

Doug Turetsky is a policy analyst for the Community Service Society of New York, and a freelance writer.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8 ♦ 7:30 P.M.

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This forum is part of the National Convention of the Democratic Socialists of America. The Convention will run from 9:30 a.m. Saturday, November 9 to 12:30 p.m. Monday, November 11 at Chicago's Allerton Hotel, 701 N. Michigan. Observers are welcome! \$15 per day for observers (includes materials).

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Vaccines

Continued from page 13

immunization increased 693 percent between 1979 and 1988, according to testimony before Waxman's subcommittee. Shifts this large are common nationwide. Over the last decade a growing number of poor children have come to rely on publicly funded health centers for all of their care. Thus, in an era of budget cuts, public providers have a larger base to serve than ever before.

The federal government, through the Centers for Disease Control, provides yearly grants to public health clinics to cover 50 percent of the cost of vaccinations. State and local governments contribute the other 50 percent. The explosion in the number of children needing immunization at public clinics makes it nearly impossible to accurately predict how many doses of the vaccine will be needed at any given clinic. This contributes to widespread shortages of MMR.

The Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group, conducted a study which revealed that 70 percent of Community and Migrant Health Centers have recently experienced shortages of childhood vaccines. Only half of these clinics could afford to replace these supplies—and they were often forced to purchase them at the higher private-sector rates. Experts say that public health facilities need longer clinic hours, increased staffing and more extensive outreach programs in order to control the measles epidemic. The money clinics are forced to spend on supplementing their vaccine supply takes away from funds that otherwise go toward improvement of their immunization programs.

An alternative solution: The measles epidemic and the breakdown of the immuni-

zation system cannot be blamed entirely on Merck, Sharp and Dohme. The company's MMR pricing has been a large part of the problem—but Merck is, after all, in the business of making money.

"The federal and state governments are trying to control measles as we control budget deficits. We are between a rock and a hard place," Waxman told Anstice at the March hearing. "Only you can control your prices, at least at this point."

But some physicians think that's just the problem. They advocate removing the manufacture of vaccines from the profit-making sector. "The government should manufacture and distribute all vaccines for free," said Dr. Richard Biek, chief officer of health for the Chicago Health Department.

Some states have experimented with this approach on a limited scale. Massachusetts, for example, makes its own diphtheria, tetanus and rubella vaccine. State-manufactured vaccine "does save us quite a bit of money," said Massachusetts Department of Public Health spokesperson Kate McCormack. "We experience far less occurrence of preventable disease than the national average."

The number of inner-city children under two who are not immunized is probably higher in the United States than in any Western Hemisphere nation other than Haiti and Bolivia. If these rates do not improve—and they show no immediate signs of doing so—future epidemics of preventable childhood diseases are almost inevitable. With federal, state and municipal budgets so tight and with so many children uninsured or underinsured, any money designated for public health which ends up lining the pockets of a few stockholders seems almost cruelly wasted.

Zoe Zolbrod is an intern for *In These Times*.

Essays of a Citizen: From National Security State to Democracy

By Marcus Raskin
M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 321 pp., \$27.50

By Micah Fink

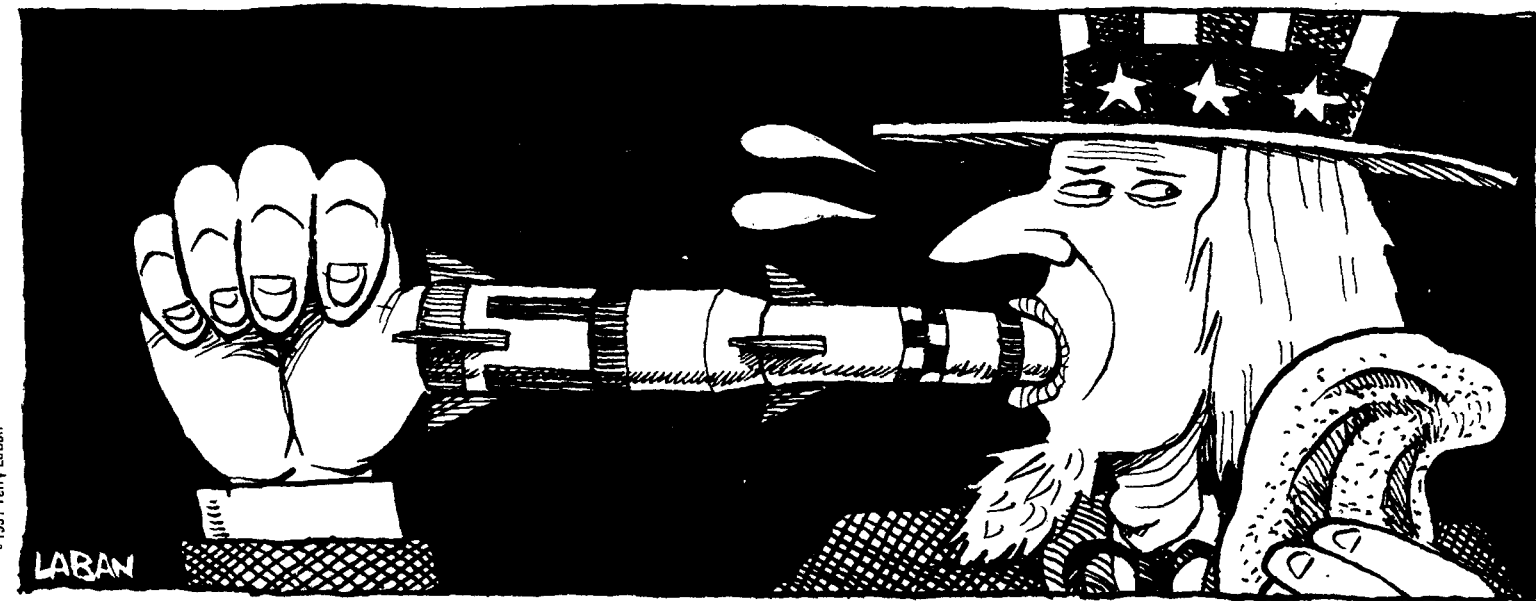
THE TRADITIONS OF THE PAST weigh like a nightmare on the brains of the living," wrote Marx as he surveyed the last broken remains of the French Revolution. Marcus Raskin's account of five nightmarish decades of national security policy, the nuclear arms race and the erosion of American democratic institutions inspires the same sentiments.

The Cold War has left us with a suicidal "first strike" nuclear strategy, an imperial fondness for wars in the Third World and a set of secret intelligence agencies gleefully accustomed to violating constitutional rights. If we want to live and retain any democratic liberties, Raskin warns, we had better think and act fast.

Essays of a Citizen is a compilation of prefaces, speeches and proposals spanning the last 20 years that outline the political and intellectual history of the Cold War and the growth of the national security state. Raskin offers a rare view into the pseudo-paranoid reality of the government's national security advisers—as only a former national security adviser can. Having been both a national security adviser for John F. Kennedy and a war resister and vocal opponent of global imperialism, he is able to challenge policymakers on their own ideological ground. Raskin's ability to speak the language of power and to present detailed policy alternatives has established him, over the last 25 years, as one of the few professional political dissidents in the U.S.

Sanity within the madness: In "A National Security Manager Tries to Explain," we are introduced to McGeorge Bundy, Raskin's former boss and his dark alter-ego. Bundy is portrayed as the quintessential "establishment regular"—a position Raskin renounced—who was instrumental in developing a "security strategy" based on mutually assured nuclear destruction and continual low-intensity conflicts, and whose "conclusions will always appear reasonable in a frame of reference that may be quite mad."

Raskin uses Bundy's policy positions as the foundation for a powerful analysis of how establishment thinking (those who believe that to have peace they must prepare for war) is determined by a dangerously narrow framework premised on nuclear deterrence. He debunks Bundy's arguments for arms control by noting that between 1972 and 1980, the period of the SALT accords, the number of nuclear weapons in the world actually rose by almost 80 percent.



Suicidal tendencies and the national insecurity state

Raskin concludes: "Such arms control agreements are doomed to fail from the get-go because they are piecemeal and assume a course correction in national security policy instead of an alternative direction..." As long as national security is linked to nuclear weapons, Raskin says, the entire world remains fundamentally insecure, a hostage to the whims of an elite clique.

"There is a profound contradiction between the democratic right to participate, deliberate and choose on the part of the citizenry and the right of the president to commit suicide for the world," writes Raskin, striking another of the collection's major themes. Individual rights are

Individual rights are undermined by the demand for secrecy and executive power.

undermined by the demand for secrecy, as well as the authority assumed by the president and his security advisers to play a game of nuclear chicken with the rest of the world.

Proof that Raskin's depiction of the thinking of "establishment regulars" is valid lies no further than the most recent issue of *Foreign Policy*, containing essays by McGeorge Bundy, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Stansfield Turner. Bundy's article argues for arms control and continues to assert the prophylactic values of nuclear weapons; and Turner, a former director of the CIA, proposes that "national security" be redefined to include "economic threats." Turner declares that "most everyone would agree that U.S. intelligence

agencies should work closely with the American business community," and he proposes that "there needs to be a more symbiotic relationship between the worlds of intelligence and business." This formulation sets up the framework for the New World Order in which the U.S. is pitted against every other nation in the world in a never-ending struggle for "economic dominance."

Strengthening the U.N.: To comfort conservative voices concerned about the physical security of the country, Raskin proposes a strengthened system of national security based on regional defense forces. He also advocates a strengthened version of the U.N. to mediate and resolve international disputes. In a section entitled "Draft Treaty for a Comprehensive Program for Common Security and General Disarmament," he presents the actual working details of such an arrangement. This treaty empowers the U.N. to arbitrate international disputes, creates a system of international nuclear verification and proposes a framework for the elimination of "all weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological weapons, and all offensive weapons,

as well as all military forces that are not required to keep internal order or to participate in a U.N. enforcement action."

One of the most provocative essays in the collection is a polemic entitled "Idealism, War Crimes, and Accountability," which asserts that the nuclear arms race, militarism and U.S. actions in Vietnam (and, by extension, El Salvador, Panama, etc.) are illegal according to accepted international law. Raskin turns to the Nuremberg Accords, in which Amer-

and definitions, Raskin argues, requires that all nations, including the U.S., be held accountable to the same standards of legal responsibility and accountability.

While the recent dissolution of the Soviet Union makes many of the specific policy recommendations obsolete, what remains is a uniquely detailed insider history of the Cold War and a powerful analysis of the current crisis of American democracy. Raskin's essays provide a revealing analysis of the mentality that governs the White House, and serves as a guide for understanding the policy reasoning that defines the parameters of the ongoing debates about arms control, disarmament, nuclear verification and national security.

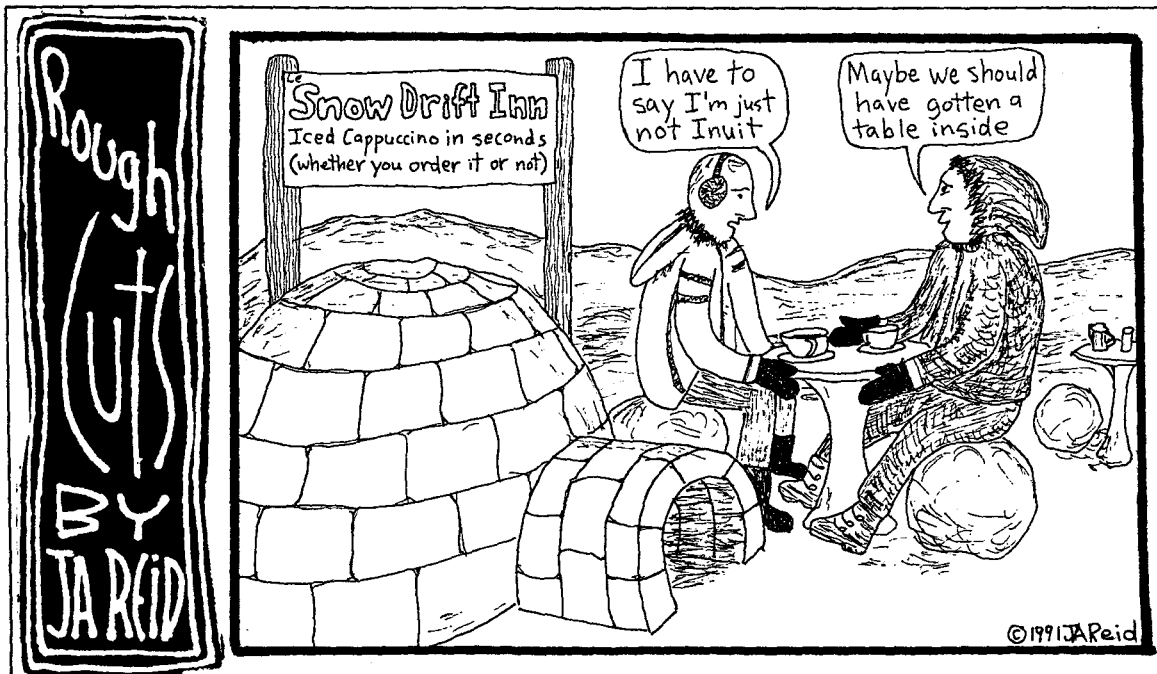
While the bulk of Raskin's thoughts for reconstructing and "taming" the national security apparatus look toward the U.N. as the force behind international disarmament and reconstruction, he also remains an advocate for the power of popular struggle. He reminds us that we are all citizens, that the responsibility of a citizen is engagement, and that if we are to ever free ourselves from the oppressive weight of the past we must participate in the perpetual "struggle against Authority—right, left or center—whenever that Authority constitutes itself against the people."

Micah Fink is a writer living in New York.

POLITICS

ican judges established definitions for individual accountability and criminal activities in order to assess and judge Nazi war crimes. According to the Nuremberg tribunal, a major war-crime offender was "anyone who is responsible for outrages, pillaging, deportations or other acts of brutality, even if committed against resistance movements."

The tribunal also explicitly defined the crime of "militarism," which includes "anyone who advocated or is responsible for the domination of foreign peoples, their exploitation or displacement," as well as those "who disseminated militaristic programs" and "profiteers" who suppressed minorities or made "disproportionately high profits in armament or war transactions." The existence of these laws



City of Hope

Directed by John Sayles

By Pat Aufderheide

Finding slivers of hope in the heart of the city

IT'S HARD AT FIRST TO TAKE STRAIGHT the title of John Sayles' latest film, *City of Hope*. As the film introduces us to its three dozen characters, none of them seems to offer even a modest inspiration.

There's Nick (Vince Spano), the sullen, spoiled and lonely younger son of Hudson City's up-from-the-gutter developer (Tony Lo Bianco). He's off in search of drugs, and ends up in the body shop of Carl (Sayles himself), the sleazy local fixer who's overseeing a neighborhood break-in and simultaneously humiliating a neighborhood woman. Then there's Rizzo (Anthony John Denison), the mean-streak young cop psychopathically obsessed with his ex-wife (Barbara Williams) and ashamed of his disabled child. He runs into two African-American kids (Jojo Smollett and Eddie Townsend) and neatly confirms their hatred of white authority.

Finally, there's neatly pressed Wynn (Joe Morton), the only African-American council member. He's treated contemptuously by a corrupt Italian-American mayor (Louis Zorich) and by more-Muslim-than-thou community activists Levonne (Frankie Faison) and Malik (Tom Wright).

It's a nightmare picture of contem-

porary urban life, even before you get to the echolalic street person (David Strathairn) and the Hispanic squatters in the condemned tenement. Then Sayles—who wrote and edited the film as well as directing it—starts weaving the many disparate stories together. By the end no

one escapes the net; the lives of different generations, classes and races have all at least grazed and sometimes profoundly affected each other for good and ill.

Culture and class: What's most amazing about the film is that Sayles pulls it off. Ultimately, it's neither de-

pressing nor gimmicky. In fact, you can even see Hudson City as a place of hope. If the movie is something of a bravura piece, by this time Sayles probably deserves to flaunt his ability.

The American filmmaker most likely to win the Exception That Proves the Rule award (hey, he's already won the McArthur "genius" grant), Sayles has consistently managed to produce films on his own terms and also get them into mainstream theaters. He crashed the scene in 1980 with *Return of the Secaucus Seven*, known to some as the movie *The Big Chill* should have been.

He then went on to make a series of films unified by a concern for the social drama lying underneath issue rhetoric and political cant. *Lianna* (1983), about a woman's discovery of her lesbianism; *Baby It's You* (1983), about a cross-class high school love affair; *The Brother from Another Planet* (1984), about Harlem as seen through the eyes of a space alien; *Matewan* (1986), retelling a famous coal miners' strike from the perspective of the union organizer; and *Eight Men Out*, a retelling of the 1919 Chicago Black Sox scandal—all had in common a fascination with character shaped by circumstance.

As Sayles has been trying to explain, in his stolidly patient way, since the start, he's not an "issues" artist. He brings out the felt cultural

experience that infuses social and political belief and conflict, the experience that slogans and position papers so magically make disappear.

Now there's *City of Hope*, jam-packed with character and circumstance—so jampacked indeed that it hovers right at the edge of self-parody. The characters—even, and maybe especially, the kids—are all squashed and pummeled by their circumstances; they hunch, they mutter, they slouch, they snarl. Their context is not only materially poor—tacky and tattered, lit in smoky reds—but also emotionally dank. Brooding resentment, spite, exasperation—these emotions set the tone at the outset for the collisions that set the plot in motion. (If you're not ready when you come in, the screeching, dissonant riffs that open the movie will locate you.)

Sociological curiosity: This, however, is not the luridly expressionist wallowing in life-from-below that typified another recent urban meditation, *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (a fascinating film in its own right). Nor does it have the cold anger, the universal psychological condemnation of a *Do the Right Thing*. The city is not a setting for a statement; for better or worse it's a home of sorts, a place where people live.

The opening tenor of the film, and its evolution into both tragedy and hope, explains Sayles' peculiarly sociological curiosity. It's a catholic kind of curiosity, transcending judgment. He wants to know not only why things happen the way they do, but how—what gets individual people into that larger pattern that ends up being a culture.

The characters' motivations are woven into social context. The particular shape of each of these damaged lives explains how these people will go on to spread damage elsewhere. The cop will beat up the boys, who then beat up a white jogger; the mayor, who's being blackmailed, will pay off by tearing down a housing project; Nick will try to pay off his drug debt with a robbery that goes sour, and so on.

Desperate claims: Sayles' close observations are built into characters, their habits and choices. For instance, the brutally competitive, defensive machismo of both boys and men among the poor of all ethnicities, the flaunting of weapons, the armored body stance, the intense personal anxiety over homosexuality, are shown here as class markers, a pathology of poverty. Gender markers become, in a harshly unequal world, a desperate and public claim to personal power.

Sayles also endows the film's characters with a pervasive neediness, a hunger for basic acknowledgement and respect so intense that, once given, it can pierce even elaborate armor. That's what happens when Nick finally gets through to Rizzo's ex-wife Angela (Barbara Williams), and it's terrifying for her.



FILM

Iconoclast filmmaker John Sayles.

John Sayles on his sprawling, urban-contemporary cornucopia

John Sayles, with his producer and longtime companion Maggie Renzi, spoke with *In These Times* in Washington D.C. on the eve of the premiere for *City of Hope*.

City of Hope is immensely complicated. Is there a way to describe what it's "about"?

It's about compromise, which is a difficult thing for anyone to deal with. The major characters all have to compromise, and sometimes they make the wrong choice.

I told the actors, nobody gets to start from scratch. Culture, economics and politics are all related. There are characters you're supposed to like, but they don't always do things you like. The councilman that Joe Morton plays, he could have been a Frank Capra character, a Mr. Smith or a Mr. Deeds, but he's not.

People ask me if I'm trying to make a political point. I used to give [Hollywood cinematographer, director of *Medium Cool*] Haskell Wexler's answer, that all films are political, and you either see they are in the short run or the long run. But more and more now, I say it's not about left and right, it's about complexity, about not having, maybe, any good choices.

Doesn't that make your films hard to sell?

Goldwyn was having trouble putting their finger on the film when they were test-marketing it. Marketing is about simplifying. That's also what goes on in the studios. And of course simple screenplays can be good vehicles for stars. The one Hollywood word that rules right now is "castable"—it's the word you hear more than any other.

Ensemble pieces won't attract big name actors. And that's a problem for everything we do. We have a close circle of friends, people who are very loyal. But after a while, we have to say to them, "Can you still afford to work for us?"

How do you get so many different kinds of characters into your work?

Some of it is just how people talk. And that's about just listening. You know, nobody knows who I am when I'm walking around. Also, I don't live in L.A. That helps a lot. And I've worked in a lot of construction-type jobs, and in hospitals where all my co-workers were women.

I remember once at a train terminal people were waiting in line for tickets, and a homeless man was panhandling. He wasn't having much luck—people had been hit up too many times I guess, it

was the end of the day, they were tired. And he stopped and said, "It seems like a man gotta pass through the gates of hell to get a piece of cheese." I couldn't forget it.

There's something almost ethnographic about *City of Hope*.

It doesn't conform to people's expectations of an urban drama. At Cannes some people asked me if it wasn't "too soft" for American reality. But *City of Hope* is about the working poor, and there isn't much done about them.

I'm interested in those people. The white women in *City of Hope*—Maggie plays one of them—for instance, I know them from East Boston. They're probably not that much different from the black mother that Gloria Foster plays, she'll probably have an earful for the local cop if he comes around her place. They're people without statutory power. They don't get to be the councilman, or the cops. They're at least gonna have the power to complain.

I give them at least the respect to listen to them. And too often people don't have that, especially people like these.

The characters exhibit a certain loneliness in the midst of the urban intensity, an isolation that mixes

with resentment.

That's what Asteroid, the echolalic, notices. I gave him the mantra for each scene, and it's all taken from the sales pitches at the appliance store. They're things like "Money Talks, Nobody Walks" and "Why Settle for Less When You Can Have It All." He has noticed something, it's not random. And he's not articulate, but he's desperate to get it across.

The spectrum in this film runs between cynics and believers, and one can be as destructive as the other. My character [Carl] was modeled on Jackie Presser, who worked for the Teamsters, the mob, and for the FBI all at once. He made himself indispensable to everyone, and they all protected him. My character knows he'll never get any respect except the kind he can get by twisting your arm around your back. He's been wounded and he wants everybody else to be wounded too.

That's cynicism. You want the world to be bad, because if it is it justifies your behavior. And that's self-confirming. The end of the movie says that it doesn't have to be like that; individual action matters.

© 1991 Pat Aufderheide

By contrast, Sayles both as writer and filmmaker gives that kind of respect to all the characters, including the echolalic—who also is the film's chorus. By repeating the commercial slogans and catch phrases all around him ("We've got deals, deals for you.... You can have it all.... Help!") he also, ironically, given his

Sayles' productions are executed by a community of creative artists.

condition, articulates the problem.

City of Hope showcases speaking styles rarely heard in the movies—the everyday back-and-forth of the working poor. It's captured with an almost disturbing accuracy—the rapid fire proclamations of the Muslim in the storefront, the smooth advice of the retired African-American politician on the golf course, the cop conversations in the squad car. Seemingly trivial exchanges add up to a trigger for the climaxing events.

Strength of character: What happens in the film could be a kind of checklist of urban crisis—gentrification, political corruption, racial and ethnic tension, brutal gender

politics. But *City of Hope* isn't about an issues list. Those are the forces that shape the characters' lives and limit their options, but don't necessarily dictate the result.

For instance, when Wynn goes out to the golf course to confer with a grand old politico about a racial incident about to blow the community apart, at one point Wynn—an eternal naïf—says, "This is not a war with white people." His mentor says, "It's *always* that." When Wynn raises an eyebrow the mentor says, "Otherwise you're just another ward heeler." Wynn adroitly turns this advice into a victory his constituency can back while also deflecting roiling tensions.

In any tapestry this broad, there are bound to be weak spots. For whatever reason, in several moments of peak drama, sentimentalism and hortatory speech creep in. And some plot elements stick out. Long before the destruction of the tenements, you know there will be a victim and who it will be.

But as usual in Sayles' productions, which are executed by a loose community of creative artists, the technical competence of the film is high. The production design, by Dan Bishop and Dianna Freas, stays carefully this side of expressionism and



John Sayles' *City of Hope*: a world where everything's touching.

carries a large responsibility for the film's effectiveness. The actors, many of them veterans of Sayles productions, not only create weighty incarnations of Sayles' social sketches in a short time, but work well together. Everyone will have favorite performances: I was particularly fascinated by the District Attorney's cool deal-making sidekick (Michael

Mantell) and by the ever-grinning, slimy detective O'Brien (Kevin Tighe).

Performance artist Laurie Anderson used to say, "There are eight million stories in the Naked City, and nobody knows which one is theirs." *City of Hope* argues instead that nobody knows that other people's stories are also theirs. And it goes

on to show that, however disparate and lonely people's urban trajectories seem to be, they are connected. If they aren't connected actively and with a will to shape a community, they will connect with each other poisonously, and shape a community that's that much harder to live in.

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Running for shelter from mother's little yelper

Momnipotent: Songs for Weary Parents

By Nancy White

By Doug Smith

FOR THE PAST DECADE, CANADIAN writers and performers have carved out a niche for themselves in the booming field of children's entertainment. Musicians Raffi, Fred Penner and Sharon, Lois and Bram, whose appeal rests on their respect for children and their refusal to engage in cheap gimmickry, are almost as well known in the U.S. as they are in Canada. Robert Munsch, the author of *The Paper Bag Princess* and dozens of other children's stories, has seen his tales turned into songs and plays.

Aside from their own talents and integrity, these people owe much of their success to the baby-boomers' preoccupation with raising perfect

rapid-fire confessional that details the death of the singer's attention span. She recognizes that she is out of touch, suggesting the problem could be solved if "Sesame Street" would run a little more hard news.

One of the highlights of the set is "Leonard Cohen's Never Going to Bring My Groceries," a song that sends up Cohen's work as well as the death of romance. White moves from fantasizing an affair with Cohen to realizing that what she would really like is to have him babysit while she and her husband go to the mall to look for new towels for the bath-

room. But romance is not completely dead—this time she figures she'll drive the babysitter home.

She also spoofs John Cale and Lou Reed's *Memo to Drella* with her own "Memo to Droola," set to a Boccherini melody. White sings of how,

*I will have a super-birth because I'm so fit,
They'll offer epidermal, but I'll have no need of it,
If the music's right, we'll bond that night,
And we will lead a life of sheer delight.*

White also reveals that she put a

"Child on board" sign on her car window to explain to other drivers why her driving is so erratic. "Suzie Money Gone Away" is an intimate mother-daughter experience explaining how in the 1987 stock-market crash little Suzie's mutual fund—a gift from her grandmother—disappeared the same way that socks disappear in the dryer.

The song contains a couple of touching "antidotes," as White calls them, that reveal some of the secrets of parenting—namely that it can be immensely rewarding.

Bimboland and beyond: *Momnipotent* is a change of pace for

White, whose previous works have been collections of social commentary. The most recent was *Bimbolandia*, a collection of songs she recorded for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The title song deals with the doings of Donna Rice, Jessica Hahn and company who inhabit Bimbolandia, where "everyone's a model, everyone has a dream, it's a place where posing for *Playboy* boosts your self-esteem."

Originally from Prince Edward Island, White says she sang compulsively as a kid and graduated to work on local newspapers, doing columns and entertainment writing. She wanted to be a performer and, because she felt she was not a great instrumentalist or singer, she decided she would have to work on her song-writing. So she began producing what she now calls "novelty songs."

During the '70s she became deeply involved in Latin American issues, traveling to Guatemala to study Spanish in 1977 and visiting Nicaragua on behalf of Oxfam in the early '80s. She also sang at a Nicaraguan pop concert in 1984. From these involvements have come some of her most moving songs, including "Hymn to Oscar Romero," "Desaparecidos" and "Sewing Machine," a song about the lives facing Latin women who immigrate to Canada. She has also worked at translating some of the songs of Violetta Para, occasionally including them in her concerts.

Momnipotent is available from Multin Inc., c/o The Children's Group Inc., 300-561 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1V6.

Doug Smith is a Winnipeg writer and broadcaster.



Nancy White and friends create off-beat tunes of the baby boom.

MUSIC

children. Hence flashcards, designer diapers and two-year-olds who burn out from the stress of not making it into the right preschool.

But, to turn the usual question on its head, who speaks for the parents? It should not be surprising that Canada's wittiest singer/songwriter, and mother of two, Nancy White has produced *Momnipotent: Songs for Weary Parents*, a pointed collection of ballads about parenting in the '80s.

It opens with "I'm Babbling," a

NEW YORK

October 28-November 22

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL

Monday, Oct. 28—Tom Angotti, Discussion Group in Urban Theory and Politics (first of 6 sessions, plus 3 special lectures), 8 p.m.; \$85.

Tuesday, Oct. 29—Ignacio Perrotini, Marx: La Teoria de Crisis, y el Capitalismo en Latinoamérica (first of 8 classes in Spanish; postponed from Sept. 24), 8 p.m.; \$80.

Friday, Nov. 1—Screening of Bill Brand's film, *A Homeless Home*, and a discussion with the filmmaker, 7 p.m.; \$6.

Friday, Nov. 8—Richard Levins, Beyond Democracy: The Politics of Empowerment (lecture), 7 p.m.; \$6.

Saturday, Nov. 9—First annual Vito Marcantonio Conference—The Multicultural Curriculum: Recovering the Progressive Tradition, with speakers Juliet Ucelli, Silvio Torres-Saillant, and Gerald Meyer, co-sponsored by the Vito Marcantonio Forum, 9 a.m.-4 p.m.; \$15, \$10 low-income.

Bruce Kayton, Radical Walking Tour of Greenwich Village (meets at the arch at Washington Square Park), 1 p.m.; \$6.

Thursday, Nov. 14—Boris Kagarlitsky, Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union (lecture), 8 p.m.; \$8.

Friday, Nov. 15—Boris Kagarlitsky, Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union (3-day intensive seminar), 6-9:30 p.m.; \$195 (includes previous evening's lecture).

Saturday, Nov. 16—Boris Kagarlitsky, continuation of seminar on Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union, 10 a.m.-5 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 17—Boris Kagarlitsky, continuation of seminar on Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union, 11 a.m.-3 p.m. Mark Whitecage (concert), 5 p.m.; \$5.

Friday, Nov. 22—Pot-luck dinner (bring a dish and a friend), 6:30 p.m.; free.

Upcoming Intensive Seminar: Dec. 2-4, Luciana Castellina, European Parliament member and leader of the left wing of the Italian Communist Party, 1992 and Left Politics in Europe.

Unless specified, all events take place at The New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks below Canal St. between Church St. and Broadway), New York, NY 10013. Scholarships are available for low-income people. For more information, call (212) 941-0332.

November 7

FORUM: "Free Speech/Hate Speech on Campus and in Society" with Aryeh Neier, executive director, Human Rights Watch; Soli Sorabjee, former attorney general of India; Suzanne Shende, attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights; Carlton Long, professor of political science, Columbia University, and expert witness, 2 Live Crew obscenity trial; Eric Garcetti, coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Harassment; Nan D. Hunter, professor of law, Brooklyn Law School, and former director, ACLU Lesbian and Gay Rights Project. 7:30 p.m., Moot Court, Cardozo School of Law, 55 Fifth Ave. (between 12th & 13th), NYC. Admission Free. Co-sponsored by Campaign for Peace and Democracy and Cardozo School of Law Arts and Entertainment Law Journal. For further info, contact CPD, POB 1640, Cathedral St., NYC.

WASHINGTON, DC

November 2-3

"Don't Pay for Occupation," a Palestine Solidarity Committee national conference. Nov. 2-3, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. Speakers include Eqbal Ahmad, Philippa Strum, Samih Farsoun, Damu Smith. Admission: \$20 regular; \$10 limited income. For information, contact PSC, P.O. Box 372, Peck Slip Station, New York, NY 10272. (212) 227-1435.

CHICAGO

November 8-11

Join Cornel West, U.S. Congressman Bernie Sanders, Nancy Riche (President, New Democratic Party of Canada) and Jo-Ann Mort (Communications Director, ACTWU) at a discussion of "Democratic Socialism in a Post-Communist World." Nov. 8 at 7:30 p.m., Mundelein College, Sky Auditorium, 6363 N. Sheridan Rd. It is the opening event of the Democratic Socialists of America 1991 National Convention, and is co-sponsored by the Midwest Radical Scholars Conference.

Join Michael Eric Dyson, Irving Howe, Jose LaLuz, Roberta Lynch, Christine Riddiough and others at the Democratic Socialists of America National Convention: Saturday, Nov. 9-Monday, Nov. 11 at the Allerton Hotel, 701 N. Michigan. Observers are welcome. (\$15 day observer fee includes all convention materials.)

November 10

Salute three contemporary heroes: Philip Agee, Susan Gzesh, Howard Saffold. And celebrate the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights. Sunday, Nov. 10, at the Ambassador West Hotel, 4:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, a civil liberties watchdog and advocacy organization. Call (312) 939-0675 for information.

SAN FRANCISCO

November 9-10

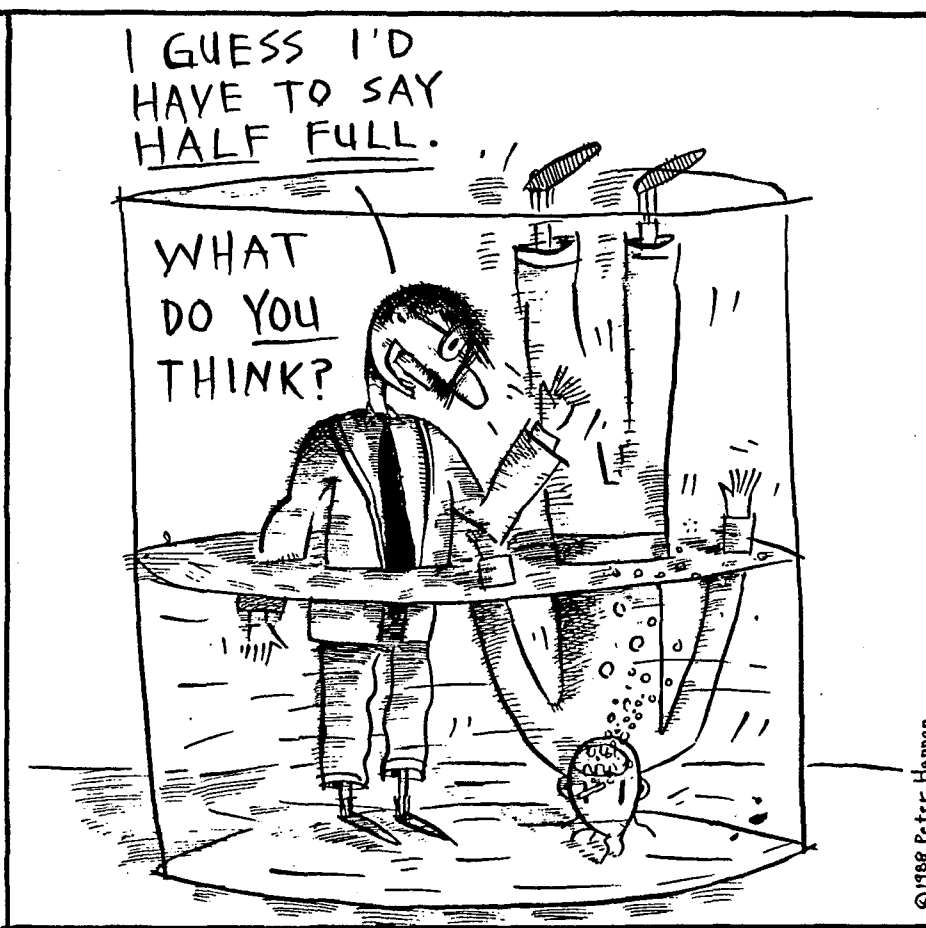
"Don't Pay for Occupation," a Palestine Solidarity Committee national conference. Nov. 9-10, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA. Admission: \$20 regular; \$10 limited income. For information contact PSC, (415) 861-1552.

EVANSTON, IL

November 17

Tikkun Mid-West Mini-Conference: An afternoon and evening with Tikkun editor Michael Lerner. Should aid or loan guarantees to Israel be linked to progress in the peace process? Why are Democrats and the progressive forces in such bad shape? What are the tasks of Jewish progressives in American politics? Plus small group discussions. A chance to meet others who share your values and concerns. Sunday, Nov. 17, 1:30-9:30 p.m. at the Jewish Reconstructionist Congregation, 303 Dodge Ave., Evanston, IL. Incomes under \$12,000/yr.: \$20; \$12-25,000/yr.: \$35; \$25-50,000/yr.: \$45; above \$50,000/yr.: \$65. Send checks to Tikkun, c/o Tony Frank, 1208 Florence Ave., Evanston, IL 60202.

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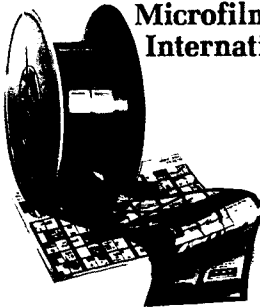
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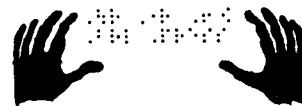
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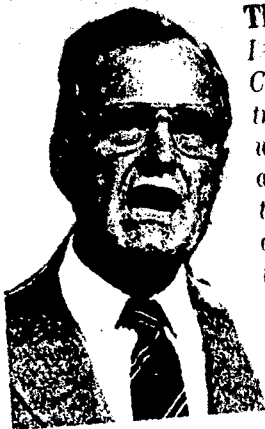
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The Resume:

Clarence Gates

Safe House Estates, Fax Hollow, Virginia

Work History:

1988-present: Director, White House Office of National Opportunism.
1985-88: Deputy Administrator, Global Ambitions Agency.
1983-85: Manager, Christmas Club Dept., Bank of Commerce and Credit International Branch Office, Medellin, Colombia.
1981-83: Vice President for Government Affairs, Wedtech Corp.
1979-81: Marketing manager, Hotstuff Video Distributors, Inc., Newark, N.J.
1975-77: Summer Intern, The New Republic

Education:

M.A. Oral Swaggart University, 1978. Thesis: "Positive Aspects of Apartheid."
B.A. Political Science, Yale University, 1977. Coors Gold Keg Scholar.
Skull & Bones, Oreo Society

Publications:

"Bank Examiners—The Hidden Threat to American Freedom"
"John Tower: Statesman and Bon Vivant"
"Did the KGB Poison Liberace?" Monograph, with Michael Ledeen

Hobbies/Personal Interests:

Rubberworking, cigarette boat racing, amateur Hitler studies.

References:

George Herbert Walker Bush



THE CONFIRMATION GAME



The Raw FBI Data

Interviewed subject's teachers and fellow students, preschool through grad school. Subject said to be good student, dull personality, with obsessive interest in rodents. Interviewed fellow workers. Subject said to be nice but plodding boss who made occasional references to hot buns and two penny uprights at staff meetings. Subject once bragged to an associate that he joined "the mile high club" on a business flight to Cincinnati.

Ex-wife, though refusing comment on their relationship and reasons for divorce, did say: "The gerbils were the last straw." Former neighbors report subject didn't abuse his wife and children "any more than other spouses in the development." Subject divorced, currently resides with Wanda Latex, an inflatable woman he purchased at duty-free boutique Frankfurt, Main Airport, Germany.

Subject's 1990 IRS filing reports \$93,000 in taxable income derived from current USG position and outside speaking and writing fees.

Subject drives Saab 900 weekdays and Ferrari Testarossa weekends. Has \$2 million ocean-front resort home in Bahamas, where he parks his 42-foot cigarette boat. Subject vacations frequently in Bolivia and Pakistan. Maintains collection of reputedly rare and valuable gerbils and goes on gerbil safaris with former State Department official Elliott Abrams. Plays regular tennis doubles matches with former New York Mayor Ed Koch, Louisiana politician David Duke and indicted banker Charles Keating. Subject is active member of the Langley Pipe and Snuff Club.



The Media Reaction

An explosive national debate has been sparked on the dangers of smoking in airliner bathrooms. Conservatives, citing the second amendment, say passengers should be free to carry and use incendiary items on airplanes, while liberals are pressing for stiffer sanctions on stratospheric smokers. Geraldo, Donahue, Oprah, Sally, Hard Copy and Inside Edition are all planning exposes of famous members of the "mile high club." The Wall Street Journal notes sharp run-up in stock of company marketing a Sen Sen Spray Can said to be invisible to airport detection equipment.